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ABSTRACT

Based on a literature survey (1965-70 publications) and personal interviews with southwestern Indian leaders, urban employers, and college teachers (recognized authorities on Indian problems), this research program was directed toward optimizing the benefits of youth projects for Navajo and Papago Indians and focused on factors related to social and occupational adjustment on reservations and in rural areas. Some factors influencing Navajo and Papago youth were their changing environment (social, cultural, economic, migratory); education (values, attitudes, aspirations, skills, etc.); on-reservation educational system (quality of schools, teachers, teacher-student relationships, curricula, etc.); and preparation for today's job market (on and off reservation). Findings revealed there are an "astounding" number of overlapping Federal and State programs aimed at helping American Indians, but American Indians have little to say about program policies or their mode of operation, and most of these programs have been unsuccessful in meeting American Indian needs. A basic problem was conflict between wanting to stay on reservation lands and finding these lands unable to support an increasing population, resulting in the adjustment problems of rural to urban migration. (JC)

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PERSPECTIVES OF ADJUSTMENT: RURAL NAVAJO AND PAPAGO YOUTH

This is Volume 2 of a four volume final report on a program of research conducted under Contract No. 41-2-002-27

by

Nancye Belding, Tamara L. Sparks and Guy H. Miles

to

Manpower Administration
U. S. Department of Labor

from

North Star Research Institute
3109 - 38th Avenue South
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55406

March 1974

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This is the second of four final reports covering a research program that North Star Research Institute conducted for the U.S. Department of Labor. The objective of the program was to optimize the benefits of youth projects for Navajo and Papago Indian youth living on reservations and in rural areas of the Southwest.

This report discusses the factors that are significantly related to social and occupational adjustment of American Indian young people who grow up in the Southwest. The information on which this report is based is from two sources: the literature published between 1965 and 1970 about factors that might underlie some of the problems of American Indian youth in the Southwest, and a number of interviews with American Indian leaders in the southwestern states, with urban employers who come in contact with youthful Indian rural-to-urban migrants in the Southwest, and with teachers in southwestern colleges and universities who are recognized authorities on American Indian problems.

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OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The goal of this research program has been to investigate the occupational adjustment of ethnic minority youth who grow up in the rural Southwest, and to develop programs to optimize that adjustment. The research focused on Spanish-surname youth and Navajo and Papago Indian youths in rural counties in the states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and California.

The study design is similar to that of previous studies conducted for the Manpower Administration in the North Central states and in the Southeast.

Results of a survey of literature relevant to the problems faced by each group of youths were published previously in two reports submitted to the Manpower Administration:

> Belding, Nancye, William F. Henry, and Guy H. Miles, "A Survey of the Literature Relevant to Spanish-surname Rural Youths in the Southwestern States". 1972.
>
> Schneider, William S., Nancye Belding and Guy H. Miles, "A Survey of the Literature Relevant to Indian Rural Youth in the Southwestern States". 1972.

Results of the other phases of the research are reported in four volumes, one of which is the present report:

Vol. 1 "Perspectives of Adjustment: Rural Chicano Youth". This volume reports the interview information regarding rural Spanish-surname youth.

Vol. 2 "Perspectives of Adjustment: Rural Navajo and Papago Youth". This volume reports the interview information regarding Navajo and Papago youths.

Vol. 3 "An Analysis of the Occupational Adjustment of Spanish-Surname Youth from the Rural Southwest". This volume reports the empirical data on rural Chicano youths.

Vol. 4 "A Model Program for Ethnic Minority Youth in the Southwest". This volume contains the guidelines for model rural youth programs, developed on the basis of the research.

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SUMMARY

The Changing Environment of Navajo and Papago Youth

Social and Cultural Environment

The family is perhaps the most important aspect of the traditional Indian's* life. It is the basis for the structure of the community, and the means by which the individual learns the cultural beliefs and attitudes of the community. In the past, the individual was controlled through the threatened withdrawal of family support and isolation from the community for wrongdoing. It is probable that a program which attempts to encourage the individual to move away from his family and community will be unsuccessful because it forces him to choose between two undesirable alternatives: living at home without a job, and finding a job by sacrificing the sense of belonging to a particular social group.

The family is an important part of the community; individual leaders do not have much authority. Decisions are made by talking out the problem in a group, and usually the older adults have the most influence. There are some indications that these cultural patterns are changing. The Papago, particularly, have been more accepting of Anglo ways. Because of the growing militance of many of the younger people to return to the "old ways", however, there is some question as to whether this trend will continue.

The value system learned by Indian American people is diametrically opposed to that taken for granted by white American society. It is possible to categorize basic differences in values into four groups: time structure, personal attitudes, world view, and cultural identity.

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*Writers have a tendency to make statements about "American Indians" that suggest that there is a homogeneous American Indian culture. This, of course, is not the case. In this report, the terms "Indian," "American Indian," or "Indian American" refer to only the Navajo and Papago Indian tribes. It is not possible to generalize the statements made about these tribes to any other tribes.

The Indian culture has a present-time orientation; the Indian is not accustomed to thinking extensively about or planning for the future. Nor do they think in terms of rigid time structures: minutes, hours, days, etc.

Most Indian people are nonaggressive, noncompetitive, nonmaterialistic, and not reward-oriented or goal-oriented. Instead of competing with each other for rewards or "success" in Anglo terms, they believe in sharing with each other and doing things out of love and concern for their family and community.

The traditional Indian's view of the world and his own place in it is one of living in harmony with nature. He is unable to compartmentalize his life into such things as job, family, recreation, etc.; he sees everything as being interconnected.

Most Indians retain strong ties to their families and their reservation homes. They distrust the white man as one who wants to destroy their culture, and are likely to see the problems of the Indians as having been created by the white man.

Economic Environment

Neither the Navajo or the Papago are accustomed to thinking in terms of "career" or "job". Most work is viewed as a temporary activity for the purpose of raising money quickly. There are few jobs on the reservation; many of these are temporary or seasonal.

Reservation Indians are among the most deprived people in America. Their housing is inadequate and they lack many of the facilities that most white people think of as being necessary for survival; water is particularly scarce. Nevertheless, most Navajos and Papagos would prefer to live and work on their reservations in order to be near their families.

Most of the exploitable resources of the reservation are located in isolated areas; moreover, the Indian people lack both capital and either education or training to develop these resources. It is difficult to attract industry to the reservation; many Anglo businessmen seem unable to deal with Indians on their terms without becoming frustrated with "Indian ways".

Migration

It is almost impossible to determine actual populations for Navajo and Papago people. Many errors occur in reporting data; births and deaths are often unreported. The mobility of the population also makes an accurate population count impossible; many Indians move back and forth between the reservation and urban areas.

The major incentive to migrate is economic: to find better jobs at higher wages, and better living conditions. Those who move tend to go where other family members or friends already live, rather than because a job is available there. A few may leave to take part in a federal job training program; others, to join the military.

There appear to be two main reasons for migrants' returning to the reservation. Some return because they could not adjust in the city and because they have stronger social ties on the reservation. Others do so to help family members that still live on the reservation.

Navajo and Papago Youth and Their Education

Characteristics of Indian Youth

Some Navajo and Papago youth still hold to the traditional values of their people. This does not mean that they are committed to a traditional life style; their main concern seems to be with improving conditions on the reservation. Other youths are described as "rebellious"; their parents say they are lazy and disrespectful and that they get into trouble easily. Several parents blamed this rebelliousness on the schools.

Although the traditional Indian community did not view formal education as being an important goal, this attitude appears to be changing somewhat. Many young people now say they want to get a better education so they can "help my people". Many of the community leaders are encouraging young people to get either professional or vocational training.

An increasing number of Indian youth are completing high school and going on to obtain post-high school training, either in college or vocational school. However, many of them still are deficient in English language skills; this handicap can place severe limitations on the types of jobs they are able to obtain.

The dropout rate for Indian students has been steadily declining; but it is still higher than the national rate. Any of a number of factors influence a student's decision to drop out of school: lack of money, inadequate counseling, inability to adjust to unfamiliar environment, social problems, the family needs help at home, boredom with school, academic failure, and family problems. Often, the immediate material rewards for dropping out appear to be greater than those for staying in school. Moreover, the parents and/or the community may not encourage the young person to remain in school; they may even encourage him to leave.

The Reservation Educational System

Indian control and staffing of the schools their children attend is usually not the rule. Several people stated that the Anglo teachers and administrators do not understand the Indian young people or their culture and that this causes the children to drop out of school, lose their self-respect, or become confused about the beliefs and practices of their culture.

Few teachers of Indian children are of Indian descent themselves, and few have had any training in dealing with the special problems that are involved in teaching Indian children. Most are unfamiliar with the language and culture of the Papago or Navajo children they are teaching. However, it is difficult to attract high quality personnel to reservation area schools, according to many interviewees.

Many teachers and administrators appear to consider Indian students to be inferior to white students. Many of them look down on their Indian students and try to repress their native culture. This makes it hard for the teachers and the students to get to know and understand each other's ways.

There are few guidance counselors in Indian schools. Most of them lack professional training. Occupational counseling is only rarely offered, and psychological counseling is practically nonexistent. The vocational counseling that is done with Indian students appears to be of the kind that tries to steer them into vocational/technical training and away from the professions. Counselors are not trained to deal with the special problems of Indian children; they, too, lack education in the Indian child's culture and beliefs.

Bilingual education programs for Navajo or Papago children are rare, as are teachers who are qualified to teach them. Moreover, much of the curriculum materials that are used in Indian schools is not relevant to Indian children. Very few of those who develop the curricula that are used in Indian schools are Indian. And few Indians are on the school boards of these schools.

It is probable that if more relevant curricula were now being used in Indian schools, the youths' abilities to make decisions about occupations and life styles would be facilitated. Most Indian parents appear to want the kind of education that will allow their children to choose an occupation from among the alternatives that are available where ever he wishes to live, and then to learn the skills needed for that occupation so that vocational and social success are possible.

The long distances and scattered populations of the reservations make it difficult to organize and staff local schools. This has resulted in the operation of on- and off-reservation dormitories for Indian students. It has also meant the separation of Indian children from their parents at an early age. And this, in turn, has resulted in the children having feelings of isolation and rejection, and in parents believing that the schools are trying to turn their children against them and their culture.

Parents' Attitudes Toward the Education System

Stories of cruelty to Indian students in BIA and mission schools are apparently handed down much as tribal or family tradition are. Such tales affect the attitudes of the community towards education and toward those who administer and staff the schools. Nevertheless, many Indian parents are coming to believe that getting an education is important for their children. They would, however, like to have more of a voice in

choosing what that education shall consist of. There has been, as yet, very little opportunity for them to become involved in curriculum development, staffing, financial support, facility planning, or development of goals and objectives for the schools their children attend.

Preparing Reservation Youth for Today's Job Market

Job Opportunities on the Reservation

The majority of Indian young people would prefer to find jobs near their reservation homes. Repeatedly, however, we were told that there is almost no work available on the reservations; those who want to find work must leave the reservation and migrate, usually to an urban area far from the reservation.

There is a demand for highly skilled professionals on the reservations; but these jobs are usually filled by Anglos because qualified Indians cannot be found to fill them. There does appear to be a growing movement among younger Indians to get an education so they can replace those Anglos who presently hold professional jobs on the reservation. However, the Indian professional may have difficulty in gaining the acceptance of his own people. There is also a limit on the number of professional jobs that can be supported by the reservation economy.

Several people stated that all enterprises on the reservation should be owned and operated by Indians. The problem is that Indians lack both capital and training in management techniques.

A number of businessmen have tried to set up factories on the reservations because of tax advantages and what they view as a supply of cheap, readily available labor. Most of them, within a few years, have either closed down or replaced most of their Indian laborers with Anglos. Some say this is because Indians lack the necessary job skills. Others report that it is a difference between cultural values. And still others declare that the reasons are economic in character: the businessmen were losing money.

Tribal jobs offer some employment for reservation Indians. The number of available positions is small, and most of the jobs are temporary and short lived. Jobs on the reservations are also available from the BIA. And there are a few jobs with other federal agencies. But many of these federal jobs are held by Anglos, and Indians who are able to get jobs in these areas appear to be discriminated against in terms of the types of positions held and opportunities for advancement.

There are a few other kinds of reservation work available: there are some mining jobs, work for a few cattle barons, work with the tribal herd, and a very few jobs as truck drivers or janitors. Many seem to have no alternative, if they want to remain on the reservations, but to accept welfare.

One of the main problems of finding work or in getting to work is the lack of transportation; few families can afford reliable cars or trucks. Moreover, most of the roads are poor and sometimes impassible.

Off-Reservation Job Opportunities

The BIA Employment Assistance Program provides three types of services: relocation to an urban area, provision of job training, and direct job placement. Ideally the Indian is brought to an area where job opportunities exist and provided with whatever services he needs in order to obtain a job. A number of criticisms were made of the program.

Several people complained that the relocation aspect of the program was simply a way of getting the Indians off the reservation, and that very little help was given in helping them adjust to urban life.

A number of people also criticized the training aspect of the program. Particularly it was alleged that the counseling associated with the training was inadequate: that only a small variety of options are

presented and unrealistic expectations are instilled. It was also charged that the training provided often is for jobs in areas that are becoming overcrowded.

The job placement aspect of the program was also criticized. Several said that the client is often given a rosy picture of the types of jobs he can get, only to find that he does not really qualify for these jobs. Others said that those who do have training are often placed in jobs where they are not able to make use of the training.

Other federal job and job training programs were also criticized for not meeting the job needs of urban and reservation Indians. Many of the programs do not seem to be relevant to the needs of Indians, particularly rural Indians. Guidelines were criticized for being inflexible and uncoordinated. The administrators were criticized as being without understanding of the job market or of the occupational preferences of their Indian clients.

Other types of job opportunities in urban areas are very limited, particularly in those jobs for which most Indians have training. Also most people we talked with stated that there is discrimination against hiring Indians in urban areas.

Factors that Affect Employability

The process of applying for a job is the most difficult area for Indians who are seeking employment. Many have difficulty in filling out long employment applications or in completing employment tests. They also lack relevant work experience, and have difficulty with the English language. Cultural differences are also barriers to employment in Anglo jobs: the difference in time structure means that many of them do not understand the concept of an 8-hour job. Most do not know how to dress for or how to act in a job interview situation.

Indians' view of what is important in their lives may also differ from that of Anglos. To the Indian the family is the most important part of their lives and everything else takes second place. Indians are taught not to be competitive; this is often viewed by Anglo employers as laziness.

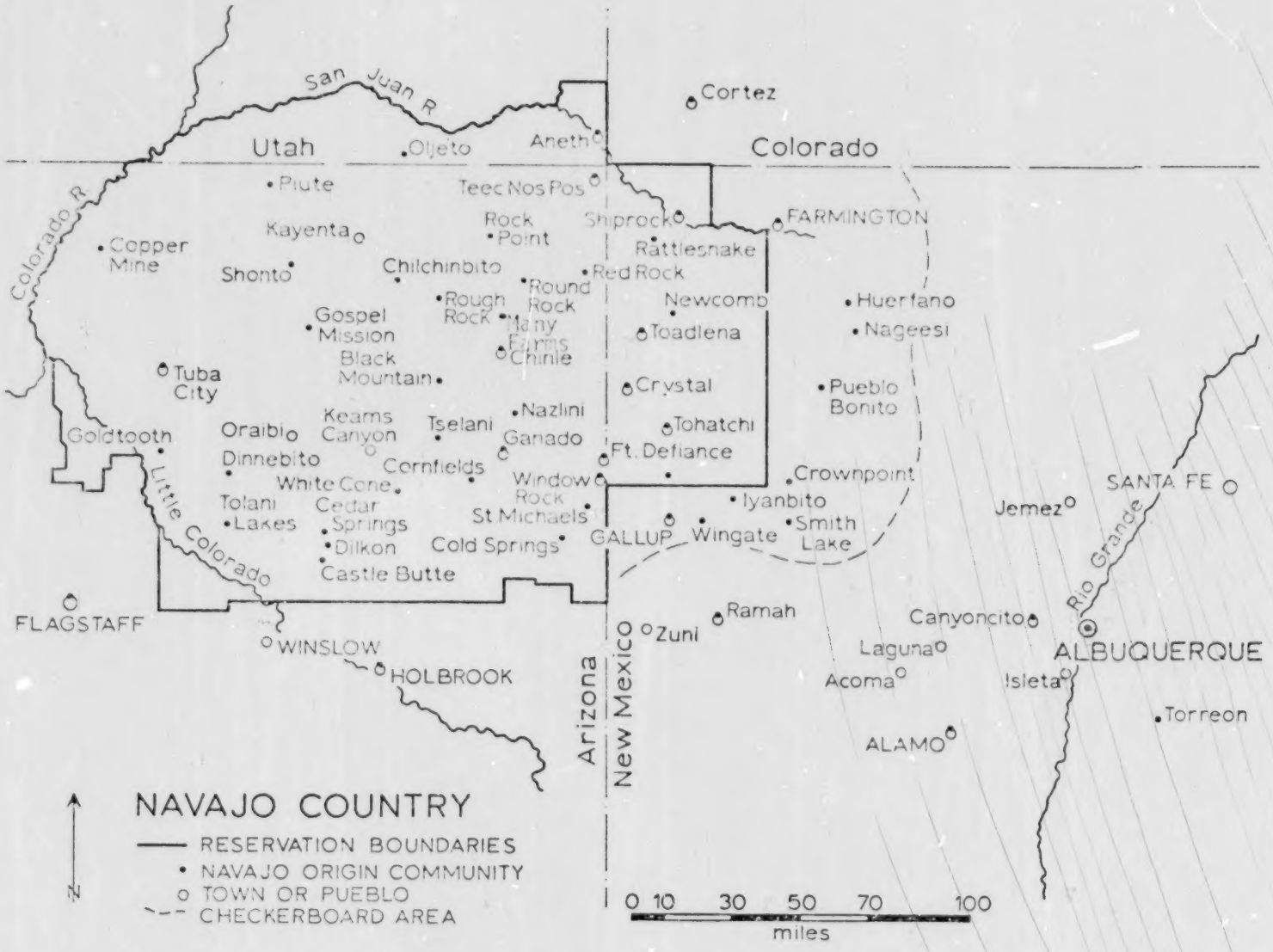
Both at school and in seeking and keeping jobs, the young Indian faces communication problems never imagined by his Anglo peers whose first language is English. This is not simply a problem of direct translation; basic thought patterns are shaped by the structure of one's language. Thus, some concepts are untranslatable. Many Indians find it difficult to talk with strangers, particularly if they are Anglo; even those that can speak good English.

Alcoholism was mentioned several times as a factor that limits the employability of Indian youth. The Indian child who has an alcoholic parent is likely to develop a drinking problem himself. Several people stated that alcoholism among Indians was the result of social problems, including adjusting to urban living. Others said it was because most of their friends drink and that they don't know how to drink socially.

Adjustment to life in a city is a particularly serious problem for Indians. Because of their essentially rural background they lack knowledge about the facilities and institutions in the city. Urban employment agencies and public transportation are especially intimidating to the young migrant. They do not know how or where to get medical help, or where to go to take part in the social activities. They are ignorant of such things as insurance, social security numbers, and the necessity for paying rent and other bills. Those who are most successful at adjusting to urban life are the ones who retain some contact with their native culture, which usually involves return to the reservation home as often as possible.

Implications

The final section of this report briefly discusses the implications that these findings have for future programs for Navajo and Papago youth.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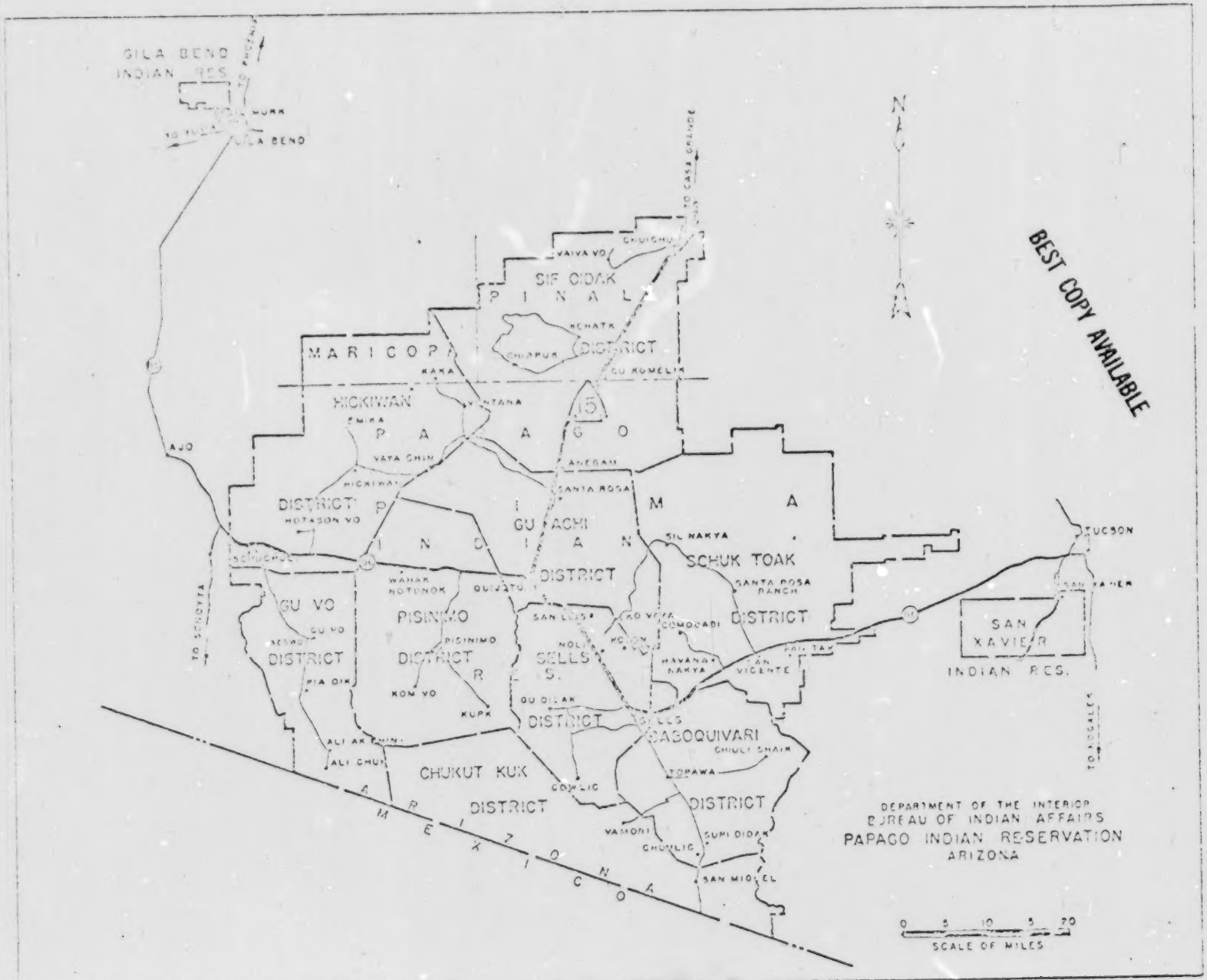
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INTRODUCTION

This is the second of four final reports covering a research program that North Star Research Institute conducted for the U. S. Department of Labor. The objective of the program was to optimize the benefits of youth projects for rural Chicano youth in the Southwest, and American Indian youth living on reservations and in rural areas of the Southwest.

The study covered in this report was aimed at determining the factors that are significantly related to social and occupational adjustment of American Indian young people who grow up in the Southwest. These findings were later used as the basis for developing guidelines for a model youth project; the guidelines constitute part of the fourth report.

As part of this study North Star staff examined the literature published between 1965 and 1970 to develop hypotheses about factors that might underlie some of the problems of American Indian youth in the Southwest. The views presented in the literature were summarized in a report to the Labor Department in October 1972. The hypotheses resulting from this survey were to be synthesized with those generated through interviews with American Indian leaders in the southwestern states, with urban employers who come in contact with youthful Indian rural-to-urban migrants in the Southwest, and with teachers in southwestern colleges and universities who are recognized authorities on American Indian problems. Finally, these hypotheses were to be tested by follow-up studies of a cross section of young American Indians who had grown up in the rural Southwest.

Because it was not feasible to study every tribe in the Southwest (or a "representative" sample of tribes), we limited the study to the two major tribes, the Navajo and the Papago.

We were repeatedly warned in our earliest interviews that we would have a great deal of trouble doing research with American Indians. We were told that Indians would be reluctant to cooperate with white people; that they would not fill out or return questionnaires; that communication with them would be difficult; that they would be reluctant to talk about or reveal personal information; that it would be extremely difficult to trace them; and that the information that they did give us might not be true.

A professor at the University of Arizona stated:

> "I can tell you right now that the BIA or the Tribe won't know where these people are. We have this population register of every Papago in the world, but we don't know where they are; we haven't the slightest idea where they are. They don't maintain a tribal role; what it amounts to is that personal contact is necessary to locate these people."

Later on in the interview he added:

> "They are really tough to find. They may be in the same house, and if you as an outsider are trying to find them, then nobody knows anything. ... You may even have to hire somebody to administer the questionnaire. And whether this person is going to cooperate or not would depend upon his relationship with that individual [that you hire] and whether he convinces the person that this is a good idea."

The distrust of Indians for Anglos and, in fact, for all outsiders was expressed by an official at the Navajo Community College who objected to any piece of research that is not being conducted by Indians themselves:

> "It seems to me that a company such as the one conducting the survey is ill-fitted to do that which is being undertaken. It seems to me that the method of acquiring information is subject to real question. ... I have never supported, and will never support, the kind of research which is done by outside agencies which never before had any interest in the Indians; but now that there is money available, suddenly they acquire a vast and expensive interest in the

> Indian. I feel this is wrong; and I feel research should be conducted, guided and controlled by the Indian people themselves. I was against the massive piece of research conducted in Indian education by Dr. Robert Havighurst on the same grounds: that it was not conducted and directed and controlled by the Indian people."

An Indian who is a counselor for an urban Indian youth organization pointed out that Indians are suspicious and hostile toward Anglo research, and that their suspicions are based upon many years of bitter experience:

> "We are suspicious [of research projects conducted among Indians] mainly because we don't know what purpose they might be used for and whether their purpose is going to be to our advantage or to our detriment. We have to do this, because we consider the people are much more important than the project itself.
>
> "We want to be assured that we are not misused at all, but that the project will be used in a good way for the benefit of our people. You're not the first research person that has come in here. Any project [that has been done] was for the purpose of the research itself; not for the subject it represents, but to justify any money that the Department of Labor, the OEO, or the BIA, or the CIA lays out. And we feel that this is wrong. We want to be assured that we can use this information, instead of merely being the vehicle, instead of being the tools used by other people; we want to use these tools ourselves.
>
> "We will probably never hear from you again, and perhaps that's not the point. Hopefully, we will be optimistic; we will not become completely negative. I may sound somewhat negative and antagonistic but that's just been our experience. We have been suspicious -- the Indian people have never trusted the government.
>
> "The Havighurst Report is a report being done by the University of Chicago -- over half a million dollars, a two-year project. And the Indian people were supposed to take part in it. At the beginning of the project there was a meeting down here. And we pleaded

> with them; we pleaded that there be real Indian participation in the project. And at the end, we had hardly any kind of participation in it. ... How many Indian people do you have on your staff? How many people to draw this thing up? To put it together?"

We had worked closely with American Indians in a similar study of rural youth in the North Central states and had found them to be, if anything, more cooperative than the white rural residents. Nevertheless, we did take these warnings seriously. As an initial step, we talked with tribal leaders, explained the problem, and asked that they recommend tribal members who might be interested in working on the research program. They recommended several people as being not only capable but well-known and well-liked by a large segment of their tribes.

We hired several Navajos and Papagos, brought them to Minneapolis for training, and sent them back to the Southwest to carry out the day-to-day tasks required to complete the study. To their surprise as much as to ours, they found it difficult even to locate many of the people they wanted to interview and, once they had located them, to convince them to participate in the research. One of them finally taped an interview with himself because he couldn't find anyone else who was willing to be interviewed! The tape recording of this self-interview begins:

> "I am a member of the Navajo Education Association, the American Indian Movement, and the National Indian Youth Council, Vice President of Native American Studies Development Association, and a member of numerous other associations affiliated with the Indian people. I have traveled to other reservations so I know the Navajo people well, their problems, their needs. I have done four interviews for North Star and it is almost impossible to find a fifth interview, due to lack of communications and appointments which are unheard of, and being unable to find a fifth one."

Despite these difficulties, with persistence our interviewers were able to tape record a large number of very informative interviews, many in the Navajo and Papago languages, with Indian leaders. The tapes in the Indian languages were retaped in English by our Navajo and Papago employees. These records provided well over 600 pages of typewritten verbatim transcriptions.

Our follow-up study of a cross section of Indian youths had been planned as a mail survey with personal follow-up of nonrespondents. We were given several reasons why this approach would be a problem: Indians have an aversion to or even a fear of paperwork or bureaucratic forms; the youthful population is very transient; and Indians are reluctant to reveal personal information in an impersonal context.

We discussed all of these problems with the Department of Labor staff, and suggested two alternatives: a) we could eliminate the follow-up study and develop a model program based entirely on expert opinion, or b) we could attempt to validate this opinion through the follow-up study as planned, and if this attempt was unsuccessful we would then base the model on unvalidated expert opinion.

Our previous rural youth studies had shown that many beliefs commonly accepted among experts failed to pass the test of objective validation. It was decided, therefore, to attempt to continue the study, as planned, before accepting unvalidated expert opinion as the basis for the final steps of program development.

On October 1 and 2, we mailed questionnaires to 1438 youths. These questionnaires were prepared with the help of our Navajo and Papago staff members. Great care was taken to ensure that the questions contained language and concepts that would be meaningful to the Indian youths. The resulting questionnaires were shorter than those used by North Star in similar studies with other groups of rural young people.

On October 10 we mailed follow-up postcards to the youths, and on October 18 we mailed a follow-up letter with an additional questionnaire. The original questionnaire and the October 10 postcard stated that the latest date for return of questionnaires was October 15. The October 18 follow-up extended the date to October 25. All mailings stressed the fact that the youths would be paid $5 for completing the questionnaire.

During the last week of October we received a large number of undelivered items from the original mailing and from both follow-ups. These returns indicated that the mail had been held for a period of time at a general delivery window but had not been claimed. Thus, many of the youths had not received the questionnaire. Therefore, on October 31 we mailed all youths a double postcard, offering $5.00 and extending the deadline to December 1. The return portion of the postcard could be sent to North Star to obtain a new questionnaire, in the event the youth had not received one previously or had mislaid it.

The school records were not adequate for clearly identifying which of the youths in our sample were Navajo, which were Papago and which were non-Indian. Our best estimate, based on the kinds of schools they attended and their locations, is that about 75 percent of our sample of 1438 youths were Indian and 25 percent were non-Indian.

Our intensive attempts to find these youths and have them fill out a relatively short questionnaire were not very successful. By our estimates, only 12 percent of the Indian youths returned a completed questionnaire.

We do not believe that this low response rate can be explained by the reluctance of minority group members to participate in a study carried out by whites. We had previously completed similar studies with

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Because the interviews on the reservations were carried out almost entirely by intelligent Indian interviewers, we hope that we have avoided some possibly serious pitfalls. We were warned, by both Indians and Anglos, that the Indian is apt to say nothing of his true feelings but to go along with whatever he thinks the Anglo expects him to say. For the researcher, then, the ever-present problem of predefining the answer in the phrasing of a question is greatly magnified. It is likely that phrasing a question in typically Anglo language will result in the typically Anglo response which is the Indian's defense system against what he regards as an open assault on his traditional beliefs. Thus, any information given by an Indian to an Anglo, particularly to a stranger or in a mailed questionnaire, does not necessarily represent his actual feelings or even the true facts. Rather, he is more likely to say what he thinks the Anglo wants to hear. A university professor, who is a Hopi Indian, explained:

> "It seems very likely that these kids would say that they aspired to something only because they have been more or less intimidated to do so by the system, rather than that they are aspiring to something they really want."

And there is a language problem. Because there are differences in thought structures and ways of expressing things in different languages and because many words and ideas are simply not translatable, direct translation of Indian languages is not always possible, particularly of those which are spoken but not written languages -- this includes the Papago and Navajo languages. According to a southwestern university professor:

> "It might be necessary to ask the question in both English and Papago; and you might get two different answers."

There is, however, a problem that we have not yet resolved. We have been told repeatedly that a program will not be accepted by the Indians unless they are also allowed a voice in its development and its

implementation. As one man, a professor at the University of Arizona, pointed out:

> "Probably part of the recommendation [for change] should be how to tone down these outsiders who are most anxious to make internal changes without letting the internal changes themselves develop from within. I think the Indians themselves are anxious for change, but I think that [they want it] on their own terms."

This is a problem to be dealt with in Volume 4 of the final report -- the program guidelines.

Social and Cultural Environment

The Importance of the Family

According to the literature, the core of the traditional* culture for both the Navajo and Papago has been the attachment of the individual to the biological and extended family. Many persons also indicated during our interviews that the emotional ties to the home are the strongest, deepest attachment an Indian possesses. Even under the strain of Anglo encroachment on the Indians' environment this is still the most viable component of the social structure. The degree of an individual's attachment to his family is probably the best indicator of the degree of his attachment to the "old ways".

The family is important because it is the basis for the structure of the community and the formation of primary attitudes. Among the Navajo, the biological family, the extended family, the economic family (outfit), and the community are extensions of each other. Property passes through the wife's clan. A husband lives with his wife's people, manages her flocks and shares the profits with her clan. Among the Papago, extended families, which consist of parents, their children and the wives and children of their married sons, are commonly grouped into small autonomous villages. Descent is traced through the paternal line.

In the traditional lifestyle, the harsh environment made the threat of isolation and withdrawal of support from the family a powerful

*In this report, the word "traditional" will refer to those who hold to the cultural beliefs of the Navajo or Papago.

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force for the control of individuals by the community. Although an individual may no longer be directly dependent on his family or extended family for economic necessities, he can still be deprived of a social framework if their support is withdrawn.

Most programs for job training and placement in the past have entailed migration to major cities and away from the reservation; they have thus made any kind of traditional Indian socialization impossible. It is difficult for an Indian youth to relate to his family when he is isolated from them. Furthermore, isolation in the framework of his culture is nearly the same as the strongest form of disapproval a community can render. Whether or not the other members of the family are sympathetic to the individual's desires to go away to find economic success, it is impossible to avoid the connotations of disapproval that are implicit in this isolation. This would imply that any program that isolates the individual from his family and community will be unsuccessful because it forces the young Indian into choosing between living in the traditional social setting without a job, and finding a job by sacrificing the sense of belonging to the traditional social group.

Several tendencies result from this problem. One recurring theme in the interviews is that those who migrate go where friends or relatives already live, and where they are not isolated from the traditional social context. Another theme of the interviews was expressed by many of the adults on the reservation, who complained of the tendency on the part of the young people to marry before they are established with an education and a job. This may be only a reaction on the part of the parents to their children's having grown away from them. But it could also be an indication of an attempt on the part of the young people to fill the void left by isolation from their parent's family with a family of their own.

Since the family is so central to the social identification of each individual, it is unlikely that a work environment that is not integrated with this social setting will allow for adequate social adjustment and related job success.

Structure of the Community on the Reservation and Its Importance

There are several major differences between Navajo or Papago and Anglo communities. The traditional community is an informal collection of family and extended family units that are held together by loose economic and geographic ties. The family is more important than the individual as a unit of the community. One indication of this is the convention of not using given names within the family, but either nicknames or kinship names, such as "my oldest maternal nephew" or "my younger son".

Individual leadership status is less important than family status, which is based on comparative family unity, wealth, and size. Leaders are more often facilitators than authorities; they help the group to "talk out" problems or suggest courses of community action. When the community decides to do something, it is almost always a group consensus decision. Among the Papago the older men of the village usually make the decisions. Among the Navajo the older, more influential men and women are usually listened to; "headmen" are elected but they have little power.

Sometimes a young person feels left out of things when he goes home and tries to help out in the group decisions. He may run into problems such as are recounted by a young Navajo male who is working in the BIA Employment Assistance Office in Albuquerque, New Mexico:

> "The old people have been screaming for years to 'get the young people out and get an education so they can come home and help us'. However, when the young person does receive his degree and goes

> home and tries to sit in on the tribal council, the first thing that happens is that he gets the rug pulled out from under him. Not because he lacks education, not because he was not Indian but because of this inherited tradition of Indians that says the elders speak first and you don't know anything because you are just a little cub."

There are many indications that the traditional community structure is changing because of white influences. Among the Navajo, many of the younger people are beginning to hold positions of authority because they can speak English and are thus able to deal more easily with white institutions.

The Papago are in a transitional position between relying on their traditional society and accepting Anglo alternatives in the forms of government programs and of opportunities off the reservation. One Papago who works for the State Employment Service on the reservation thought that their present position was the result of the Papago's being more accepting of the white man and his religion than other tribes have been. Many of the younger people resent this intrusion of white ideas and are showing resistance to Anglo dominance; but it is not possible as yet to predict whether the present trend will be reversed.

Depending on how traditional is the background of a given youth, these cultural patterns can play an important part in determining a person's attitudes toward the leadership role, aggressiveness, economic status, and government and economic authority. It is unlikely that a "traditional youth" would recognize promotion and management positions as something to be sought after; rather, in the context of the Navajo or Papago culture, these would be positions of great responsibility without power. They would tend to isolate the individual from his social context and, in that sense, would be unsavory. The formal hierarchies of authority that are so prevalent in the Anglo organization of production and management would seem highly absurd to the traditional youth. The concept of a superior's giving an order without having a thorough group discussion of the issue would seem irresponsible and autocratic.

Coming from a culture where all authority was in the family (a group) and individual influence can only be asserted informally, an Indian youth would no doubt make different demands on a foreman or employer than a white youth. The observation was made by some of those who were interviewed that, although Indian people can't deal with a "boss" as merely that they can cooperate with a supervisor who treats them as a friend. An employment counselor in Salt Lake City discussed this possibility:

> "If we know that his background is not very good, we say to the employer, 'Can you give this guy a chance? Why don't you try him for a couple of weeks -- two or three weeks. If you think he doesn't work out we will try something else.' A lot of employers have gone along with that. They put him on and then find out that he is a sharp worker and they say, 'We want to keep him.' Or else they will say, 'Well, I am going to lay him off for a couple of weeks until something picks up, and then I want him back.' One case, for example, the employer paid the rent. So these things can be arranged if an employer is willing to take a risk or willing to spend a little money on the guy."

Economic status to a traditional Navajo is irrelevant except when related to the status of his family. Perhaps the issue of personal economic status is most important to Indian people as it relates to families still living on the reservation. Acquisition of an Anglo achievement orientation seems to be inhibited by the parents and by the community. A worker in an urban Indian center had this to say:

> "Money has no value to them, and they share what they've got, and they don't feel uneasy about it. If they've got a little and a brother is hungry, they share it with him too. They don't sit and try to gather all this stuff around them and say this is mine."

Repeatedly we were told that most young people would like to find employment that would make it possible for them to help the reservation community. One interviewee, a BIA Employment Assistance worker in

Albuquerque, New Mexico, said:

> "I have been asked, 'Why don't the Indians go back and help out their parents?' There have been a lot of Indians who have gotten an education for a specific purpose. And yet when they go back to the reservation they can't get a job. Sooner or later they have to think of their families and making a living. If there was any way of making even a small amount of money they would go back and live with their people and try and help them. But the only money that comes in to most of the tribes is some federal relief. And so, unless they have jobs there, they can't afford to [live there]."

In Denver, an Indian who works in employment counseling talked about his own ties with the reservation:

> "It is home. My family, my best friends are there. To me they are very important. We are only going to share one lifetime together, and so I travel back and forth to see them.
>
> "The reservation is still my home, even though I will probably never live there again. You still have ties. Everyone cares for everyone else even if you are not related.
>
> "I personally feel that life on the reservation has something to offer. In the city we are losing our culture."

Differences Between Indians and Anglos in Basic Orientation and Values

In both the literature and the interviews conducted by North Star and indigenous field staff members, one of the strongest and most often repeated contentions was that the very bases of the value system learned by Indian American people are diametrically opposed to those taken for granted by white American society. It was also stated that such differences in value systems affect Indians' chances for successful adjustment to a non-Indian society.

There are four general categories in which basic differences in values have been posited: time structure, personal attitudes, world view, and cultural identity. Each of these categories is discussed at length below. It should be kept in mind, however, that one basic tenet of a nontechnological culture is that all aspects of life are interconnected. Consequently, the kind of analytical perspective that we have taken may also be an impediment to understanding that kind of culture.

Time Structure. Indian culture has a present-time orientation, and Indians are not accustomed to thinking extensively about or planning for the future. Thus world-of-work concepts, such as punctuality and keeping to a fixed time schedule in a job setting, may be fairly meaningless to them.

Several of the persons who were interviewed for this study elaborated upon the Indian concept of time, saying that it really has two components: the emphasis upon the immediate present, and a resulting absence of rigid time structures. One urban employment counselor mentioned, in talking about Indian attitudes toward promotion:

> "To many Indian people, as long as they have enough to eat, enough to pay the rent, they don't worry about the future."

A Papago woman who was teaching on the reservation remarked:

> "It's frustrating to us to try to do everything on the minute or on the hour. That's another reason why our students can't seem to get a job, because it means that they have to be on the job every day at whatever time they're supposed to be there. This goes back to our way of life. We are so flexible."

A university professor, who is a Hopi, gave a specific example of how typical Anglo business operations can be modified to better suit the Indian's time frame:

"There is a fishhook factory on the Sioux reservation. This factory operates on 'Indian time'. What I mean by 'Indian time' is that when the individual feels that he needs to work, he goes to work. He recognizes that there is a certain pattern necessary over a period of time. The thing is that he may not be in the factory [from] 8 to 5; he may be in that factory from 12 to 6 one day or he may be there at different hours throughout the week. But he gets the job done. Now the reason that they have such peculiar hours is because it is compatible with the function of the community. For example, when an Apache dies there has to be a 4-day wake, and this is required of all his relatives. It doesn't matter if a person is working or what, he has to be there. Now this means if all these people are working in a factory, there would be a 4-day holiday. But that time would be made up if they had to work 20 hours a day, which they are quite able to do."

Personal Attitudes. The personal attitudes said to be characteristic of many Indian people can perhaps be best expressed as: nonaggressive, noncompetitive, nonmaterialistic, and not reward-oriented or goal-oriented. The family and the affection each member feels for the others takes precedence over outside economic achievement. The values that replace the competitiveness and achievement orientation of white Americans are said to be sharing and action arising out of love and concern for one's family and community. An urban Indian counselor explained:

"For one thing, they (Indian youth) don't push. When there are jobs available and they (employers) say no, they don't push. That's it. They don't come back and reapply. ... The Indian people hold themselves back; they are not really an aggressive type."

The effect of the nonaggressive behavior of Papagos was described by a Papago man, a former school teacher on the reservation:

"They want to respect people and they don't jump up and down and scream to have their way like some other people do. And I think this is good. But for the Papago, this sometimes works to their disadvantage. They don't get up and demand their rights and they don't get up and argue for what they think is right. Many people take advantage of this attitude of the Papago."

A young Indian male working for an urban BIA Employment Assistance office described his own difficulties in learning to put himself forward:

> "Had it not been for military experiences and had it not been for being selected for instructor orientation courses in this line ... I would never have been able to communicate with people on the same level that I have been able to do so far. Because I was, in the general phrase, a typical 'blanket Indian' for many years. I found it difficult to sit down and talk with people, and I found it difficult to stand up in front of anyone, because there is such a thing as the Indian way of doing things."

A nonaggressive attitude is also likely to create difficulty in competitive situations such as the job market. Indians are taught to value sharing and not to put themselves forward. Thus, they are likely to be less successful than Anglos both in job seeking and in holding a job that requires assertive behavior.

The university professor who is a Hopi told a story to illustrate how the absence of an achievement orientation may affect Indian people's views of the structure of Anglo institutions:

> "I was at a Hopi meeting just about a week ago where the parents ... were discussing (and objecting to) a program introduced following Head Start -- called Follow-up or Follow-through, appropriately. The philosophy of Follow-through is to continue the idea of the reward system. When a child does well, he is rewarded for it. A number of teacher aides actually walk around in the classroom with chips in their hands, and whenever they see a kid do something well they give him a chip. This chip is worth something in terms of added privileges or something better to play with. That's what the parents were objecting to. Obviously, this is breaking down this business of doing something for another out of love or out of obligation rather than because he is going to be rewarded for it. It is so Anglo."

The idea behind giving the chips to the children was probably so that the children would be helped by the acquisition of the Anglo

value of reward for achievement. However, the Hopi parents were not ignorant of why this was being done; rather, they were actively opposed to it. It may be, then, that a job program that is designed to "help Indians adjust" to the Anglo economic system of rewards could not succeed without destroying the Indians' own value system.

World View. Traditionally, the Indian's view of the world and his own place within it was one of harmony with nature. Indian religions view all life as a comprehensive whole that should not be compartmentalized or brought under man's control. Such a philosophy is almost completely opposite to that of the role of specialization, division of labor, and respect for scientific and technological mastery that characterizes white American society. Such a distinctly different world view has, in the opinion of many of the persons we interviewed, many ramifications for the everyday life of an Indian who must live in a non-Indian society. A professor at a southwestern university explained:

> "The Anglo ... compartmentalizes job, family, religion, recreation, and all of these other things into their individual compartments. With the Indian there is no separation; with the Anglo there is.
>
> "I think that with the Indian it is all one operation; it is all working together. To destroy one thing would be to destroy another. This may be one of the reasons why it is difficult for the Indian to accept the factory. Because he's expected to compartmentalize his role there. There is no connection between that factory and his community. There is no personal contact between them. It is a very formal contact between employers and employees.
>
> "An Anglo can be coerced to produce umteen million things out of a stamp mill; he doesn't have any association with his product; his association is with the paycheck and what that means to him. Whereas the Indian employee associates with that product; it is part of him. Here we come into a different way of life, and if you bring a factory to an Indian community that fails to take those values into consideration, the factory only has part-time employees. There are very few [Indian] employees that can tolerate this on a long-term basis -- where he is a unit of production with no identity with the product and only receiving a paycheck."

An Anglo BIA school guidance counselor from the Navajo reservation noted, similarly:

> "It is probably still the hardest concept [for them], the world of work; getting paid for the time you work. [The idea that] there is a time to work and a time to play and a time to take care of the family and a time to do other things. It is hard to get that oriented. They're not compartmentalized."

As translated from the Navajo by one of our field researchers, a Navajo chapter official from the Tuba City Agency gave a concrete example of how compartmentalization is difficult for Indians to understand in the school setting:

> "I am against changing classes, or changing different subjects in school; having math one hour, then English the next hour and then science the next hour, and so on during the day. This is really confusing for the students. The students believe that they should be taught only the field or the occupation they are going into. Mixing subjects like this is difficult for the Indian people."

Several persons also mentioned that underlying an Indian's everyday life are the religious overtones of a cosmic world view. An employee of an urban Indian center explained:

> "One of the basic things that people are waking up to are the natural laws. It seems so basic and so simple that I don't see why other people don't see it -- that's the law that you are just part of this universe whirling through space, and that you are just a small person, and if you live on this earth and you live with nature, as the creator wanted you to live (put whatever name on him you want -- different tribes have different names for a supreme being; but there is a supreme being, and you were put here to live by the natural laws). ... Stop cutting down trees and building paper mills and stuff like that, because man cannot continue to live this way. It seems so simple, but the Indians are living that way. [They were living that way] 35,000 years ago, and they will probably continue to live that way."

A field interviewer transcribed the following statement of a Navajo man living in the Many Farms area:

"I believe that the Navajo youth is raised in a traditional way. He is taught to respect his elders -- mother, father, and relatives. His learning and teaching are combined with the religious aspect of life. To a Navajo, religion is life; it is the foundation of every day for a Navajo."

Use of the Indian language is perhaps more common among the more traditional Indian people; but even those who are relatively Anglicized retain this attachment if they grew up on the reservation. It is probably impossible for an Indian youth to live according to tradition without speaking the language; however, speaking the language does not necessarily mean that the youth has a traditional world view.

Cultural Identity. After more than three centuries of contact with the white man, the Indian today still refers to the "white man's ways". Many efforts have been made to "civilize" him, Christianize him, and make him middle-class in thought, word and deed (if not comfort). Nonetheless, the Indian of today -- even the most Anglicized Indian interviewed by North Star staff -- retains strong ties to his people and his reservation home. Intertwined with their persistent sense of cultural identity, many Indians have a deeply rooted distrust of the white man as one who wants to destroy his ways. As one of the Navajo chapter leaders explained:

"The Navajo, as well as any Indian, would rather live and work on the reservation, because the Navajo feel that this land was meant for them. They do not want to leave. The Navajo want to stay on the reservation because their medicine, prayers and religion are only effective if they are practiced on the sacred mountains surrounding the Navajo nation. They do not want to leave. Their relatives and friends all live on the reservation. But they do not have a choice if they have to make a living, so they have to leave the reservation and try and find jobs in the white man's society, a society that rejects anything that is not white. They are caught between two cultures: their culture and the white man's culture. They cannot practice the white man's culture because they do not understand it.

> They cannot practice the Navajo culture because they have been brainwashed by the white man to believe that their culture is inferior to the white man's."

Our field staff found many indications that this distrust of Anglos influences all the ways in which Indians interact with whites, even when it appears to the non-Indian that they are on friendly terms, or that he understands the interrelationship. According to our respondents, children learn at an early age that the white man considers the Indian way of life to be "dirty" and "no good". A Navajo college student explained:

> "The Indian people have been pushed under the carpet, walked on, then brainwashed into thinking that everyone that is white is supreme. Therefore, our young people are ashamed of being Indian, ashamed that they have brown skin."

A Papago professional woman from the San Xavier reservation explained, from her own perspective, how the schoolchild reacts to Anglo teaching:

> "In many schools they don't talk about the Indians' contribution to the American society. They talk about savages and all these other things; they say that the Indian is like a savage, that they are strange. When the Pilgrims came (or whoever came first), they said that they met the native American and he was a strange person, a strange being. The Indian hears this and thinks, 'well, I must be strange; I'm Indian.' And right away you (well, I would anyway) start to think of yourself as being different. Who decides what is civilization? The American Indian had a way of life way back when, and had what you would term as civilization."

A university professor in charge of Indian Studies made the point that Indians may adopt white behavior without internalizing it:

> "I'm not sure that the Papago have internalized their [Anglo] education within their ideal world. I think that they're looking at it as an outside intrusion, as a means for economic security, but not as a means for emotional security. Where we look at it as both."

He added that federal programs that try to impose structures on the Indians without taking their values into account will not succeed:

> "As long as the system is imposed upon him from the outside, he'll probably reject it. The problem is how is he going to accept it. [It involves] re-interpretation of his own values, you see.
>
> "It is only recently that the federal government is saying that we failed to superimpose our system on theirs and the Indians have survived this. They are beginning to ask why they have survived this, and they are attempting to deal more with the system than in trying to change [the Indian]. You can't superimpose [our culture on theirs], you can't destroy [their culture]; so what you have to do is to deal with it. They've tried to iron out the Indian culture in the school system, and it has all failed. The Indian still persists as a cultural identity and resists all of these things."

The Indian's sense of cultural identity is more than a distrust of or dislike for the white man's ways. It includes a deep attachment to their family and the natural environment. An Indian who is a counselor for an urban BIA Employment Assistance office pointed out:

> "There is real meaning to that old phrase 'you can take the Indian off the reservation but you can't take the reservation out of the Indian.' I believe it is true to a greater extent than a lot of people give it credit for."

A professor at the University of Arizona summarized the problem faced by a government agency which does not deal with Indian people as part of the Indian culture:

> "The Department of Labor is likely to look at the Indian tribe as just a rural situation which should be brought up to the same status as the rest. Because they view them as members of the United States community at large, they don't begin to appreciate the Indian community as a separate political system founded on separate notions and values or cultural systems or whatever you want to call it. I am almost sure that the Department of Labor believes that there is no

special need for consulting the Indians to come up with these things for their planning purposes. I am not sure that they would listen [to the Indians]. ... What is important now is to find out ... why don't the Indians develop their communities like surrounding Anglo communities. In dealing with this you are not dealing with the problem of the environment. You are not dealing with the problem of available opportunities. You are dealing with a psychological problem of commitment. You are dealing with a cross-cultural problem."

It was claimed in several interviews that no program which is superimposed on a value system that it does not reflect, and has even purported at times to destroy, can be accepted by the people who still subscribe to that value system. In terms of planning model programs, this might mean that a program that is not designed as well as implemented by Indian people would not be accepted by them.

Persons who hold to the Indian attitude -- the sense of a unique value system as well as the distrust for the Anglo, who is seen as a threat to the continued existence of that system -- may see the real problems of Indian people to be problems that have been created by the white man. An employee of an urban Indian youth organization explained:

"We don't really want a separate state. We want to survive as Indian people. We want to be able to have our own type of government; the kind of government that works best for us; the kind of education that will help us to live the way that we want to. This does not mean that we would choose anything contrary or anything dangerous to the non-Indian society or the non-Indian community. This is what the white community is so afraid of; that just because you are different, that you're dangerous.

"Indian people really believe, totally, in the community. Not only the community of people but the community of nature -- animals, mountains, and these things. The world that is now and also the world we can't see -- the limitless, kind of the spiritual. If you look at everything and find a way, which the Indian

person has found -- did find, to look at everything at the same time, then you are able to survive. Then you are, let us say, more competent than the person who allows his perspective to only consider one or a couple of things at a time. This is pretty much based on respect for or recognition of where you are in relationship to whatever surrounds you.

"When American education tells you, 'this is not the way; we don't have time to consider everything; let us only try looking at one thing',then you're being denied your own up-bringing, your traditions. You are being told that's not the proper way to look at things. You're being told that's its too inefficient; it's too much of a waste of time to do it your way.

"Religion has been imposed upon us -- Christianity or whatever. This causes a child to question negatively his background. He begins to lose faith in himself, his parents.

"Of course there are identifiable problems. I'm telling you about the cause of them. We can tell you that there is lack of job opportunities, lack of education, and considerable alcoholism. But no one ever really talks about the cause."

And a Navajo leader commented bitterly:

"The white man is always interested in the plight of the American Indian. They do not realize that they are the ones that are causing the problems of the American Indians. Today the United States government pays the farmer money not to grow crops, while the Indian people on the reservation are starving. ... The white man has taken the best lands the Indian owned. They have given us deserts, country where there is nothing. ... We need more than welfare. We need our pride back.

"It is my feeling that the United States government thinks the American Indian is still a savage. They have always considered us savages, unable to think for ourselves. ... It is time now to tell a white man that the Indian is human, probably more human than they are. We practiced democracy for thousands and thousands of years. When the white man came, the so-called democratic society, they could not understand a true democratic society so they destroyed us. They thought we were unable to think for

ourselves so they have given us this materialistic atmosphere. They have to do everything for us. We want to do something for ourselves now."

Economic Environment

The Availability of Employment on the Reservation

Neither the Navajo nor the Papago language includes the concepts of career or job. Both of these terms imply that there is a separation between an individual's work and his family life. As was discussed above, such compartmentalization of behavior is not possible for the traditional Navajo or Papago. Their work has a clear relationship with the rest of their social structure, especially with their family life. Thus, "work" in the Navajo or Papago sense is entirely different from "work" in the Anglo sense.

To the traditional Indian, a job is most often considered to be a means of raising money quickly, and is seldom seen as a permanent activity. They have been reinforced in this thinking by the temporary nature of most reservation jobs and the fact that the available work has no identifiable connection with the needs of their families. Moreover, the cooperative and group decision making behavior that are essential aspects of the Navajo or Papago lifestyle are not noticeably present in the Anglo welfare bureaucracy they see.

There are very few jobs on the reservation. Many Navajo or Papago work at traditional occupations, such as sheep herding, cattle raising, and subsistence farming. But this work allows them merely to feed their families. A few Navajo work in the mines, the Navajo saw mill, and for the Navajo Utility Authority. Others work for the government or for teachers or missionaries. There is some seasonal work off the reservation; and a few earn their living by the traditional crafts of rug weaving or silversmithing.

The Papago are less well-off than the Navajo. Employment other than farming or ranching is scarce; however, some wage work is available for commercial farms and mines.

A Navajo youth explained his ideas of what was needed by his people:

> "We need to establish small townships where the Indians can run their businesses, like owning restaurants, hotels, gas stations, etc. This would create jobs for other people on the reservation also, and this would greatly reduce our unemployment rate. The unemployment rate on the reservation is somewhere between 65 and 85 percent. When the unemployment rate in white America is 6 percent or more, the President starts screaming about unemployment for his people. They have to bring it back down to 5 percent. I wonder if the President of the United States ever considers the Indian, the unemployment rate?"

A male who is on the National Indian Youth Council stated:

> "That's pretty accurate when someone says that there are no jobs on the reservation, as far as jobs which pay money. And because ... dollars and cents are the only language that the American system understands, then you'll have to say that there is a lack of opportunities to get dollars and cents on the reservation. There are no jobs. I can go back to the reservation. I can raise sheep like I did when I was a kid. We did our own work; we raised our own things; we had sheep. We worked every day; we worked hard and very profitably -- profitably in terms of food and clothing, everyday things. We ate every day. It was hard, sure; dollars and cents didn't have much to do with it. But since American education says that dollars and cents are able to get you electricity and the so-called modern things, so that you can be recognized as a citizen of the United States, in these terms there is very much a lack of jobs on the reservation."
>
> "There is beginning to be industry and stuff on the reservation -- not all reservations. Some reservations are incredibly poor. There are just no opportunities."

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One Navajo man in the Tuba City region stated:

> "There are a lot of young Indian kids wandering around on the reservation without a job. These young Indian kids have tried in every way they can to find a job on the reservation. But for some reason they could not find a job. If there was a white guy looking for a job coming in from out of state, they will hire that white guy right off the bat and give him a job on the reservation. This is not right. We should train all these young Indian children on the reservation. We are really being cheated."

Living Conditions on the Reservation

According to the literature, Indians are among the most deprived people in America. Many families live in dilapidated and substandard housing. They have an insufficient understanding of "proper" hygienic practices and nutritional dietary habits. Moreover, they lack adequate sanitation facilities and pure water supplies.

Nearly every one of the people that we interviewed discussed the fact that most Navajos and Papagos would like to return to the reservation to live. But very few of them discussed living conditions on the reservation except in general terms. Several mentioned the lack of electricity, the poor and inadequate housing, the lack of transportation and the poor roads.

One Navajo man from Many Farms, Arizona, stated in his own language:

> "Way back when the treaty was made in Fort Sumner, our grandfathers were told that the U.S. government would help them. Since then we have been waiting for something up to this day; I still have that old goatskin and the old hogan that he himself built.
>
> "Up to this day I am waiting, not knowing what kind of help I'm going to get from Washington. There is still no water, no electricity, and no livestock; nobody comes around to me and tells me, 'Here is what

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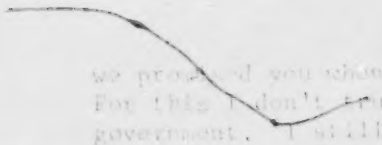

we promised you when your old man signed the treaty'. For this I don't trust the BIA and the Washington government. I still have only that goatskin that replaced the Army blanket at Fort Sumner.

"The students have the same position. They go to school with the promise that they will get jobs, but come back to a reservation with nothing offered except promises."

The Navajo reservation occupies about 25,000 square miles (an area a little bigger than the state of West Virginia) that lies mainly in northeastern Arizona, and also extends into northwestern New Mexico and southeastern Utah. About half the land is desert and most of the soil is arid and unproductive. About 135,000 Navajo live on the reservation, which is about four times as many as it has been estimated that the land can support at a decent subsistence level.

The Papago reservation occupies about 3,000,000 acres in southern Arizona. As is the case with the Navajo reservation, limited resources support the population inadequately. Scattered population, long distances and very poor roads also complicate matters, as on the Navajo reservation.

Although conventional Anglo expectations may be relevant as an indication of the aspirations of those Indian people who have chosen the Anglo way of life and have been provided an opportunity for "success", they are irrelevant for people who want to live as Indians. The traditional Navajo and Papago norms imply unity and collective support for the family and a modest standard of living (according to Anglo standards). Consumer orientations are not present in such values.

The actual cost of living on the reservation may be cheaper, since many services are provided free to Indians. However, a scarcity of health facilities as well as many other services may offset this lower cost. It is also argued by many that Indian people are willing to consider that a lower standard of living is an equitable exchange for the opportunity to live according to traditional Indian ways.

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Many of the younger Indians are not willing to make this trade. According to one male:

> "If all educated Indians were to return to the reservation to help their people, we would overpopulate the situation so fast that we would eat ourselves out of house and home, and would be scrambling around like rats. ... So we go off and make new homes for ourselves; we say we can't exist back there in the manner we are accustomed to through education. We have become acculturated; we can't live off the land; there is just so much land down there."

Nevertheless, the majority apparently would like to return to the reservation if it were at all possible for them to earn a living there. A professor at the University of Arizona discussed the economic situation on the reservation:

> "It has always been that we, the 'good guys', are bringing the factories in and this is going to change this deplorable economic condition that we find on the reservations. Well, we have seen that things do not change out here. ... Do you know what the Indians do with their money? We don't even know. We assume that he is going to buy a nice house and that he is going to want all of the things that his neighbors want off the reservation, but he doesn't do this. ... The increase in income only means one thing. It does not mean a new house, it does not mean a bank account or new furniture. It means better automobiles for transportation; it means more fulfillment of mutual obligations of kinship -- providing bigger and better feasts, bigger and better funerals; it provides greater access to drinking. ... There was only one Indian family in the whole reservation of 400 that actually made improvements on his own house from this income. The rest of it was all dispersed within the system, shared; and people who didn't have money were helped. ... This was in the fulfillment of the greater Indian needs in attending ceremonies than these other kinds of things."

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Economic Development on the Reservation

Most of the exploitable resources on the reservation are located in isolated areas; and the Indian people lack capital and either education or training to develop these resources. Moreover, the extant cultural belief that one should live in harmony with the environment is not conducive to economic development, particularly mining. The problems tend to be circular in nature: there are few sources of revenue; without revenue, education and capital investment are impossible; without education and capital investment, it is impossible to develop sources of revenue.

The industrial development which has occurred, and that which is just beginning, seems to be concentrated mainly in mining and tourism. To some extent this indicates progress. However, Anglos tend to dominate the mining enterprises, which require more capital investment and more technically trained personnel than the Navajos have available. A university professor who is interested in Navajo ethnology related the following story:

> "I sat at breakfast in a motel one morning, because the place was crowded, with a young Indian engineer. I wanted to know what he was doing there. Well, he was employed by an engineering company that was building an atomic reactor plant in the area. And I said, 'Well, for goodness sake, why do you work for a white outfit? Why don't the Indians -- here is all this supply of uranium, probably the best source of income they could possibly have -- why aren't they doing this themselves?' And he said, 'I don't know, I just work for the company.'
>
> "After that breakfast I was out talking with this man that was setting up an OEO program. And I said, 'How come you make a subcontract to a white outfit to exploit probably the richest source of immediate cash that you could have?' And he said, 'We are very aware of this but we don't have Indian engineers. So the best we can do is contract with his people to do it. That is why we are so enthusiastic about this growing educational program of the tribe.' It made sense but it also

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> was kind of heartbreaking that that was the one thing they might have grabbed hold of that had more money ... for them than anything else I've heard of. The big profits ... were going to the white company that had contracted to do the work."

The problem of identifying resources of the reservation was often discussed. It is not possible to determine the accuracy of this information. Informing the Indian people of the results of research into the reservation's economic potential would seem to be a prime goal of the researchers; but if surveys of potential economic development have been done, no one we talked to knew anything about the results.

As badly as the Navajo and Papago need the revenue from economic development, they also need the experience which comes from positions of responsibility in the organizations and corporations who would sponsor this development. A university professor who has investigated conditions on the reservation discussed some of his observations:

> "Many of these economic ventures on the reservations, like mining for Papagos, do lend themselves to opportunities that should be taken advantage of by Indian students. Managerial positions ... whereby they can actually influence by making decisions on how the originally Anglo economic ventures could be controlled by the Papago tribal government ... and to begin to understand and be able to manipulate policy so that these things could be worked to their advantage rather than to the white man's advantage."

Interfacing of Anglo and Indian culture is also a concern for developers of the reservation. The cultural differences that were described earlier impinge on the effectiveness of industrial enterprises, both on and off the reservation. The complexities of the task of developing industry on the reservation requires experience and training on the part of the developers as well as a great deal of stamina to withstand frustration that often arises in dealing with a different culture. Many people that we interviewed suggested economic development of the small

communities on the reservation as a compromise solution. An employee of an Indian political youth organization stated that the reservation situation ought to be considered a community or potential community, rather than just a problem area:

> "We want to do something for ourselves now. We want to ... set up a self-supporting community on the Navajo reservation which would create jobs for students. Our young people need to be taught that we need professional people. The Navajos are just as good as anyone else. Therefore, we should all get an education, turn out lawyers and doctors, teachers, and so forth to help our own people. These are what we need. We do not need so many mechanics, so many janitors, so many welders. Even the schools on the reservation are run by white people."

Community control of incoming industries, then, appears to be one of the demands of Indian people who are to benefit from the economic changes. It also appears that successful economic development must be accomplished according to existing community norms and in harmony with ongoing community development.

Migration

Migration Trends and Patterns

It is difficult to determine actual populations for Navajo and Papago people because the U. S. Census Bureau data represent the respondents' self-classifications rather than any set definitions of biological stock. Nor are these data broken down by tribal origin. Moreover, since BIA figures are usually obtained from agency or tribal rolls and births and deaths are often unreported by those living in the more isolated areas of the reservation, these figures also are estimates rather than actual data.

The mobility of the population also makes an accurate population count impossible. Many Indians, particularly the young, move back and forth between the reservation and urban areas. The major incentive to migrate is economic: to find better jobs at higher wages and better living conditions. Most migrants would prefer to live near their reservation homes.

Several descriptive generalizations were made about changing patterns of migration by the persons interviewed. Some people seemed to believe that fewer people want to migrate now than when the BIA relocation program was in operation. The superintendent of a BIA school on the Navajo reservation said:

> "Back in the 50's, we decided we have to find employment off the reservation, so we developed a program for this in the large cities. And for many many people this was very successful. ... You look at the studies; they show we're losing over 50%; but then the studies don't follow up and show them returning again. You see, they return on their own."

And a CAP Director for the Papago tribe said:

> "There used to be a movement to go away from the reservation, but now I think that it has sort of reversed."

The cities most often mentioned as destinations for those who move off the reservation were Los Angeles, Denver, Salt Lake City, and San Francisco.

A social service worker discussed the effect of changing attitudes on the reservation:

> "I think that there are a lot more men coming into the city than women, off of the reservation. More girls come now than used to, because things are changing. Their parents will let them go more easier than they used to, and they're not quite as afraid because there are centers for them so there's something or someone that they can get in touch with."

It was agreed from the interviews that there are no reliable measures of the rate of return to the reservation. However, it was generally agreed that many individuals travel between the reservations and cities often, and that relatively few stay in the city permanently.

A Denver employment service representative described in some detail the cycles of migration:

> "They come here and look for jobs for a month, and they get homesick or don't find a job, get hungry, go back to the reservation and get rested up and come back later on. They travel back and forth. Most of them come on their own. We had a few who came through the BIA relocation program, and some through the military service."

The same patterns were noticed by a social service worker in Oakland:

> "I think that they tend to leave. Most of them leave. The Bureau statistics on that, I think, are very poor. It kind of runs in cycles. They all come in at a certain time of year. Then as soon as or just before their training is up ... they're going to go home where they feel more secure. There is a very small percentage of the people still here that I went to school with. The agency should be training them closer to home."

From the interviews it appears that there are actually two phenomena relevant to the return of migrants to the reservation. Some of those who return do so because they failed to adjust in the city, and because they have stronger social ties on the reservation. Others do so to help family members still on the reservation. All of the difficulties of adjusting to urban life as well as emotional ties to home seem to be determining factors. An Indian social worker in San Francisco made the following comment:

> "They come here and they're thrown, all of a sudden right into the middle of a white middle-class society; and it scares them. They don't know how to handle it. When you think of all of the things that you take for granted every day, like riding the bus, calling people if you need something, looking for an apartment and all of this stuff that you know how to do, these people don't know how. They're just lost. On top of it, trying to find a job without the skills or qualifications or the background, it just compounds the problem, over and over and over. So they get discouraged and they apply to us or to the BIA for transportation back home; and they're right back where they started, looking for jobs on the reservation."

A BIA official from Salt Lake City observed that Indian persons may feel rejected by Anglo society:

> "I would say that most of them would want to stay here if they can get a decent job, and not necessarily preferential treatment or anything. But there's just a lot of people that don't accept other nationalities. When they get that feeling, they think, 'I'm not really wanted in this town, so why should I hang around. I'll go back home where my people are.' Then, they leave and go home."

The attitude that it is important to try to contribute to life on the reservation even though jobs are not to be found was frequently expressed in the interviews. A social worker from San Francisco explained:

> "There is this movement of cultural regeneration among Indian people, generally. And so these kids nowadays

> are trying to reach back to recapture whatever cultural values they think they have. ... They are all attempting to go back and relate to that cultural feeling. And for this reason they want to go back to the reservation situation after education, without realistically looking at whether their education is relevant to that particular situation that they will undoubtly face on the reservation."

Although it is probably not possible for Indians to return to the traditional way of life, it appears that some people hope to restore at least part of what they think is lost in moving to the city.

Factors that Influence Outmigration

There is general agreement that the most important cause of outmigration is unemployment on the reservation. Personal preferences about living on the reservation are overshadowed by the fact that few people can support themselves there. A former school teacher, who is a Papago, explained what he considered to be the major reason why Papagos leave the reservation:

> "Probably the majority of the Papagos feel better working on the reservation. But they go off the reservation to keep body and soul together, for there is nothing going on on the reservation for the majority of the people and everybody has to have money to keep body and soul together."

And a Navajo chapter officer made a similar observation about his reservation (as translated by a staff member):

> "It seems a majority of our Navajo youth graduating from high school and college are leaving the reservation and going to the outside to find jobs. This is because of the lack of job availability on the reservation. Our youth have time and time again put in job applications at Window Rock, at Chinle, at Fort Defiance and they never get a response from these places. Even from the applications for jobs off the reservation they get job offers and this causes them to leave the reservation to go to work. We are in great need of jobs on the Navajo reservation."

The strength of family ties also has an important effect on the decision of a Navajo or Papago youth to leave the reservation. According to most persons interviewed, Indian people tend to move to areas where relatives or friends already live, to stay on the reservation if their parents request them to, and to return to the reservation rather than live away from their families. A woman living on the Navajo reservation said:

> "I imagine [they go] to the big cities, but I am pretty sure they will go only if a relative or persons will be along or they are going with a brother or sister. I am pretty sure they won't want to go alone."

Apparently these people are leaving the reservation primarily for economic reasons; but they are making decisions about where to go according to where relatives live rather than where jobs are available. Some parents seem to be aware of this problem; many are of the opinion that young Indian people are better off on the reservation. According to our translator, a Navajo chapter chairman said:

> "It is better for our young Indian kids to be on the reservation. If they are outside of the reservation, there are a lot of problems that come up that they have to face. And sometimes they go broke on some problem like this, and they suffer back on the reservation. Some of them cannot even pay their way back to the reservation. That's why all of the Indian people or the Indian parents would like their kids to be working on the reservation instead of outside of the reservation."

The existence of federal programs such as the BIA Relocation Program seems to provide an incentive to leave the reservation. A Navajo who is CEP administrator on the reservation said:

> "I think that they don't leave merely on their own; they wouldn't try to do that. They are [illegible] with some kind of program, like Employment Assistance, which does a lot of relocation."

Experiences such as military service also affect attitudes about staying on or leaving the reservation, according to a State Employment

Commission representative from New Mexico:

> "Kids that've been in the Army have changed a whole lot, too. ... They've seen beyond the rural area. When they come back they stay around a while and visit the family; but pretty soon, they've seen other areas and they move on -- many of them move on."

In sum, according to our interviews, three things -- parental advice, local unemployment, and participation in federal training and placement programs -- are the most important determinants of whether youth are staying on or leaving the reservation home.

NAVAJO AND PAPAGO YOUTH AND THEIR EDUCATION

Characteristics of Indian Youth

Values and Attitudes: The Movement of Cultural Regeneration

It is possible to categorize Indian youth into two different groups on the basis of their values and attitudes, which might be loosely described as "traditional" and "rebellious". The traditional group are generally described by those we interviewed as concerned, involved, and committed to establishing a strong Indian identity or consciousness for the betterment of the reservation; the rebellious are often described as confused, fearful, lazy, disrespectful of their elders, and unconcerned about their own future.

The young people who strongly hold to traditional values are not necessarily committed to a traditional lifestyle; their main concern seems to be with improving conditions on the reservation. This movement might be best described as a commitment to the basic values underlying traditional tribal life, rather than a substantive knowledge of the traditional crafts and lore. In fact, in many cases the old Indian ways are being replaced by more typically Anglo behavior patterns, such as an increasing militance, an increasing concern for active involvement in social change, and a commitment to getting an education as a means of attaining changes. As one young Navajo stated:

> "This is the education we want -- our own way of thinking, our own way of doing things. This is where the Navajos have lost their brotherly type association. Today we have forgotten all about this. We are beginning to lose our culture. We are losing our traditions. Today we realize we should not lose this; therefore, we have students who are striving to learn about their people and culture, history, and language."

A Papago male who is a former school teacher said:

> "Some of the young kids are interested in the history of their people and their crafts. This pastyear they asked at an Indian school in Phoenix for classes in these arts and crafts."

On the other hand, several of the older Indians who were interviewed complained that Indian children no longer respect their parents and elders; that they talk back to their parents or refuse to mind them. Others complained that the schools have ruined their children and made them lazy. A Navajo woman from Chinle said:

> "I send my child to school so he can learn something and come back to help his people. But instead of doing that, when I ask him to do a little chore around the house he says, 'Do it yourself. I am going to a dance.' It makes we wonder what he is being taught at school."

And according to a Chapter Chairman from the Tuba City Agency:

> "Our parents used to tell us this when we needed something, 'You have to do it yourself if you want something; and you have to sweat for it if you want something.' That's what they used to tell us. 'If you just sit around you will never get anywhere or you will never get what you want in life.' Today they just don't seem to follow this anymore. Almost all of our young kids just sit around at home doing nothing and just draw welfare checks. That's one reason wh they can't even work for themselves. For some reason or another, when the folks today start talking to their kids, the kids will start talking back to their parents. We never talked back to our parents. This is one reason why the parents today will hesitate to talk to their own kids."

And a woman employee of the Albuquerque BIA Employment Assistance Agency stated:

> "The older men say, 'Why do you younger people always think of recreation and don't think of work? When I was your age I worked on a farm; I helped my father plant corn; my sister helped my mother grind the corn,

make Tewa, pottery, and what have you.' So these kids come back with a rebuttal by saying, 'My father does not plant corn. How could I hoe the corn? My mother doesn't make pottery and so how is my sister going to help her? This is why we want recreation, to stay calm. You want us to stay home so we need recreation on the reservation because there is nothing else to do.'"

Plans and Aspirations

According to the literature, obtaining a formal education is not viewed as important in traditional Indian societies. Nevertheless, a clear majority of our Indian interviewees expressed the belief that their young people should obtain some form of education beyond what is presently offered in most high school curricula, and that this education should be directed towards skilled occupations or the professions. A striking number of responses from our interviews related to one central theme: the young people want to get a good education and return to the reservation to "help my people". This statement by a Navajo Community College official was typical:

"If we ask them what they want to do they may say that they want to be teachers. The major objective is going back to the reservation and helping their people. That is a pretty standard answer. It doesn't matter how far along they have gone. ... I guess we'll find out when they come back to help their people exactly what it is they are planning to do."

Among others, the director of a program for Papago youth suggested that the young people want to obtain the responsible positions now being held by Anglos or other persons who do not feel committed to helping the tribe:

"Some day [they hope] that they may be able to run the whole works here, and everything will be in operation by the Papagos. There is no future for you in doing of manual work that is going on at the reservation or of opening up businesses like grocery stores on the reservation."

Getting a college education was also frequently mentioned in the context of taking over reservation jobs now held by Anglo professionals. However, a few persons (chiefly BIA school officials) expressed the belief that there has been an overemphasis recently on encouraging Indians to attend college. According to one professor:

> "Many of the teachers and counselors are putting [the idea] that they should [be doctors, lawyers, and this sort of thing, in the minds of kids. And so many of them decide to get a college education but they find that's not really what they want."

Many others, however, contended that far more Indian young people would attend college if financial aid and counseling were available to them.

One university professor stated that Indians are "brainwashed" into choosing vocational rather than professional or academic training.

One person, a state employment service director, expressed the opinion that Indian young people (particularly those from remote areas of the reservation) are less likely to aspire to college and more likely to pursue a trade than city youth are. A number of persons felt that if young Indians are to attain their aspirations, more vocational training programs must be made available to them, both at the high school and the post-high school level. An official at the Navajo Community College stated:

> "The Tribal Council has clearly identified the need for substantial emphasis on vocational-technical education as well as for post-high school academic education. It is for those reasons that Navajo Community College was established. ... Obviously, the kinds of education and job training that [young people] want are those that will lead to employment. ... In a research study conducted by the Navajo Community College it was determined that 90 percent of the students were interested in work and occupations that related to serving their people. This is certainly a far different percentage than the non-Indian population, and I think it also reflects the feelings on the part of Navajo youth. ... Of course, a limiting factor will be their ability to obtain jobs. But again, Navajo Community College has shown that Navajos would prefer to work on the reservation for $1.50

an hour than work off the reservation for $4.50 an hour. Obviously, the problem becomes one of being able to provide attractive jobs in terms of pay and service on the reservation. This, of course, is what the Navajo Tribe is attempting to do."

The observation that Indian youth want to find any work that will enable them to live on the reservation was made by many of those who were interviewed. According to a Papago CEO official, "I have a hunch they would like almost any job." The desire to stay on the reservation was also indicated by a school superintendent on the Navajo reservation:

> "I believe they would work and live on the reservation if there were jobs here, because it is their homeland. ... I think this is a normal thing. A person wants to stay in the environment where they were born and lived and where their families are."

Several people remarked that some young people show an interest in going into ranching or agriculture, with technological improvements which could make the sparse reservation land more productive. A Navajo chapter chairwoman explained, for example:

> "We have a lot of problems that we face as a family, like with our livestock. Our kids need to learn how to work with our livestock, and how to treat them for any kind of disease or such."

A Papago employment service counselor stated:

> "I know that a lot of young people seem to really go for livestock. And I think these are the kinds that would like to be ranchers."

Staying on the reservation does not necessarily indicate that the young people aspire only to the traditional occupations of farming and crafts. According to the same Papago counselor quoted above, many reservation youth want office jobs, and many girls would like to be secretaries or nurses on the reservation. He added:

> "They're not interested in basketweaving or pottery or leather work anymore."

Many young people appear to be confused about what they want to do. Several interviewees stated that the Indian child is never taught how to think in terms of choosing from among a variety of alternatives the one which he himself would most like. Because they have been exposed to the values of the Anglo society during their schooling, many of them are probably unable to identify the areas in which it would be advantageous for them to accept Anglo values and the areas in which it would be better for them to accept those of their own people. Therefore, some who say they want to help their people are actually uncertain of what this really means.

Skills and Educational Level Attained

The literature states that Indian students are behind the general population in educational attainment and that many of them are over the age for their grade level. The proportion who attend college is low, and few of these youths complete their college education.

Most of our interviewees indicated that an increasing number of Indian youth are completing high school and going on to obtain post-high school training -- either in college or vocational school. A typical comment was made by a State Employment Service official on the Papago reservation:

> "Quite a lot now are interested in finishing their education; most of them do ... now that they have interesting things to do in education. In the last few years we have had some real strong leadership which has encouraged the young people."

A Navajo woman who is a guidance counselor at a BIA school did say, however, that she thought it took Indians a little longer than Anglos to complete school:

> "I think educationally we seem to move along a little slower than other people, but I think that ... maybe we just need a little longer to go through school situations because we do have

some kind of problem understanding .... I don't think that you would call it a mental condition. I think that we're just a little slower to take on new things."

The most commonly cited skill deficiency among Indian youths could be termed verbal or language skills in English. This handicap has many ramifications; deficiencies in ability to read well, to communicate with others, and to develop grammatical or writing skills can place severe limitations upon the types of jobs for which Indian youths are eligible.

For example, according to a Papago elementary school teacher:

> "So many of our young people are not at that level where they can express themselves confidently so that they can do a good job at whatever they're doing."

Among similar comments that were made was the following by a Papago who formerly taught school in Sells:

> "When I came here to start teaching I felt frustrated, because in the class that I was teaching -- it was 7th, 8th and 9th graders -- but when I gave them an assignment, I realized that they couldn't read."

Factors Associated with Dropping Out of School

Directly or indirectly, all of the characteristics of the reservation educational system may have some bearing on the decision of individual students to drop out. However, many other factors related to a student's personal interests or problems may also be involved.

In the literature it was stated that the dropout rate for Indian students has been steadily declining, but is still higher than the national rate. And one study noted a high correlation between dropping out of school and poverty.

Lack of money and financially related problems were most often mentioned in the interviews as the cause of dropping out. Although much of the cost of higher education for Indian people is paid by the federal government through the BIA and by the tribe, these programs, according to a Papago employment service official, are insufficient to meet students' needs.

> "We have quite a few boys that want more and intend to go on to college or the trades. But what is stopping most from going is financial problems .... There only seems to be set aside for educational purposes to help young people who want to go on for further training. I think they maybe have funds for maybe a half dozen, where there are more than a dozen that want to go on to further education."

In addition there are expenses not covered by government sponsored programs which make it difficult for children of poor families to stay in school.

One of our field staff interviewers asked a Navajo councilman from the Tuba City agency why young people leave school; he translated this reply:

> "If you put a kid in school with a family financial problem, this kid will drop out of school real fast because this kid will find out soon that all the other students have real nice fancy clothes, and he doesn't. So he will be ashamed of his clothes and ... finally he will drop out of school."

In earlier sections, it was suggested that academic and vocational counseling is essential in Indian schools. For dropouts, that service seems particularly important. According to a Papago youth program director:

> "I have talked to some young people, and there's a feeling that the [name] against what they are doing in the schools .... One young person told, 'If the counselors would come to a boy like you I probably would have straightened out myself, and

> I would go to school. But no one has ever taken any effort in talking to me and trying to straighten me out. I want the people to show me, too, that they do care, and that they want to help me out. But they just don't seem to do it!"

According to a reservation school guidance counselor, one factor which may have some bearing on the tendency to drop out is that there are often more immediate material rewards for dropping out than for staying in.

Another reason for dropping out could be that manpower programs are most frequently available to dropouts. BIA and other employment counselors, both Anglo and Indian, agree that Indian youth who drop out of high school frequently enter NYC and manpower programs and often do not make use of the services of an employment agency.

Inability to adjust to an unfamiliar environment may also be a reason for dropping out of school. Moving to a city in the attempt to get further education may be difficult for a Navajo or Papago student to do. A college art instructor discussed this situation:

> "I know that some students have gone off to very fine colleges. ... And I think the ones that most of the staff would have bet on to succeed and follow through didn't like the city living .... At the end of the first semester, both of them went into the military service. Now one or two of the others that we might not have believed would have stuck with it -- we got a phone call from one of them the other day; he told me he's completed his requirements for the Bachelor of Fine Arts degree. So it seems to be an individual thing, whether or not a person can relate to city life as the sacrifice for getting an education so he can come back later on to work with his people..."

Social problems, such as alcoholism, drug abuse, and trouble with the law, may not be necessarily linked with dropping out and may not be

often connected to the issue of Indian students. But according to a Papago health program director and a BIA school guidance counselor, they are associated with leaving school."

Another reason why students drop out is to help their families at home. Apparently many of the families on the reservation need their children at home and can't afford to have them in school. A Navajo tribal councilman discussed this matter. As translated by one of our field interviewers, he said:

> "A lot of these students are having problems with their sheep or livestock, so the parents will go to the school and pick up the students for about two or three weeks. And then the parents themselves will extend the vacation, and that's why they get behind and drop out of school."

It was also suggested that boredom with school is more important than many of the other factors mentioned. A Navajo woman explained:

> "They enjoy school but right now today, the way it is, curriculum is not really geared for them. They are bored and they don't give a hoot for school .... This is why they drop out. So really, what they need is to better the education so that our children enjoy school."

Academic failure and family problems were also given as possible reasons for dropping out of high school or college. But underlying all of the factors discussed above is possibly a general attitude of the community (including the parents) that does not encourage its young people to get an education. This attitude is discussed further in the section entitled "Parents' Attitudes Toward the Educational System."

The Reservation Educational System

Quality of Schools

Public schools on and off the reservation, BIA schools on and off the reservation, and mission schools of several denominations are available to Indian youth. Indian control and staffing of these schools is usually not the rule, although we found evidence in the literature that it can be effective.

Most of the people we talked with tended to be critical of BIA schools in comparison with public schools. Many thought that there should be more Indian control of and participation in school administration and other school activities.

The idea of Indian control of schools is not simply that Indians should occupy formal positions of authority. Several people stated that because so few of the teachers and administrators were Indian they did not understand the young people or their culture. This causes many problems, they said, such as children dropping out of school, losing their self-respect, and becoming confused about beliefs and practices of their culture. A Papago who formerly taught school in Sells, Arizona, talked about an experience that he had had in the school:

> "When I came here, there was an administration in the public schools in Sells where the teachers that were going to work with kids were hand picked. They were people that were definitely interested in Indian children; they were people that were qualified in experience and in attitude to help the Indian people that were not English speaking and who don't [have the opportunity to] hear the English language. These people were doing a wonderful job.... But then the administration changed and most of these people were eliminated. So then it was a different picture after that. Some of the students that were involved in the school were interested, and when the administration changed there was trouble. And some of these students that had started to learn that they liked school ... in the end these kids left."

A Navajo youth complained about BIA schools:

> "It seems that the people who are the heads of the schools -- the plan management people, relocation people -- are white people that are pushing 90. They were born on the job; born into the BIA family. Therefore they are the first to have priority. They keep their jobs as long as they want."

A Navajo who is on the National Indian Youth Council also spoke rather bitterly about the BIA schools:

> "From the beginning -- from the minute you enter into the BIA school, they try to teach you, for example, that Custer was good. The minute you walk in -- they don't bother about you, or your religious background -- the minute you walk in they start to brainwash you. By the time you finish about the 8th grade you're pretty much white. And you hate them, and are beginning to be shy. You are Indian, you know. Some never reach high school; they just drop out. They can't stand it."

On the Navajo reservation we also heard criticism of the mission schools. For example, a Chinle resident complained:

> "One thing the whites should do is to get the white missionary off our backs so our people can begin again to recognize our fellow tribesmen. Not just look upon him as a savage with a heathen religion just because the whites teach that the devil himself has red skin."

By way of contrast, an observer of the Rough Rock Demonstration School -- which has a Navajo School Board -- described the environment in this Indian-controlled school:

> "One of the changes that they made immediately was that Navajo would be spoken, and any English if they wanted to; but they didn't have to speak English until they got up into (I think) the 6th grade. But all the time they were learning it. The other thing was the children could be taken home any time, and the parents could come to visit any time .... They were proud of that school

> and they had not had a single runaway in three years. They had fired the white dormitory people and hired Indian couples to be dormitory parents; and they thought they were going to have real difficulty in getting people to ... give up their lives for a 9-month period. The jobs got to be so popular that they were turning them over so that everybody who wanted to in the tribe could get a chance to get an intimate contact with the school. And the pride in that thing was just amazing. And of the course the school board was elected by the tribe, and that had always been a white school board before."

Unfortunately, there is only one such school as the Rough Rock Demonstration School. The people we talked with were therefore more concerned with the differences between BIA and public schools, since these are differences with which they are more familiar. In addition to the lack of Indian control in BIA schools, some of the persons whom we interviewed complained about the dominance of older teachers, the misunderstanding of the Indian language and culture, a maladapted or biased curriculum, mistreatment of the Indian children, and insufficient supplies and inadequate facilities.

Qualifications of Teachers and Counselors

There are not enough teachers who are qualified to teach Indian children, according to the literature. Few teachers are of Indian descent, and few have any special training for dealing with the special problems involved in teaching Indian children.

Much of the discussion that was generated about the qualifications of teachers and counselors was also centered on the issue of their responsiveness to the needs of Indian students. Inadequate educational background, unfamiliarity with Papago or Navajo language and culture, and what is perceived by Indian people as a tendency on the part of teachers to

regard Indian schools as places in which to take it easy until they retire were all criticisms mentioned more than once in our interviews. Generally, the interviewee said that it was difficult to attract high quality personnel to the reservation area schools. A former tribal official on the Papago reservation explained:

> "It is hard to get teachers that are well qualified to come out into isolated areas like our reservation. They are so far away from any town or even a grocery store. And so it is hard for government schools to be set up in such a way that we would have a real good educational program."

Motivation is another factor which, according to many Indians living on the reservation, limits the effectiveness of teachers and counselors. One Papago leader stated:

> "Some of the people are there only to wait for their retirement, and they don't really do their best to teach the children in the schools what they should know in order to bring it up to standards. In the public schools they teach them more. I think this is the main problem with these BIA schools. Sometimes, when a teacher comes in that really wants to help, really tries to help them, sometimes they just transfer them or make them retire. If they really want to help the students, I think that sometimes that's the reason they get rid of them."

Some of the people we talked with believe that there is a discrepancy between the needs of Indian people and the capabilities of various schools to meet these needs. Several of them made positive suggestions for changing the make-up of the teaching and counseling staff. A Papago woman said:

> "It would be wonderful if they were all Indian counselors, because they would feel free to go to them. I think that a lot of times the young people hesitate to go to the non-Indian people."

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Teacher-Student Relationships

In the literature it was noted that many teachers and administrators consider Indian students to be inferior to white students. As with much of the discussion of the reservation school systems, the comments about teachers' attitudes toward Indian students and their culture were more often critical than favorable. It was suggested that a successful relationship between a teacher and a Navajo or Papago student requires acceptance of the student as part of his native culture and as an individual person.

Interviewees were often critical of unintentional errors made by teachers who tried to help the Indians as well as institutionalized expressions of disdain for Indian ways. A Papago who is a former tribal official explained that there are drawbacks to having Anglo teachers trying to help Papago students; sometimes, he said, they are "too helpful":

> "I think it has a lot to do with the teacher, whether he makes a child feel important and whether he gives responsibility to the child. ... Our Papago children work well as groups and not individually.
>
> "The counselors in the boarding schools, their teachers, the instructional aides, the guidance people, if they would just let the child do something. The teachers are so afraid that they are going to get into trouble. ... Maybe if we just let them try it once, and let them see if they can handle it it would be better. From there, they can make decisions and think for themselves."

He went on to say:

> "With the non-Papago teacher, it is hard for them to get to know the Papago child, to get to be friends with him and trust him, and to be honest with him. I think that before they can teach they have to get to know the students. The student has to know that he is sincere or that he is genuinely interested in him and that he respects their culture. The students may not want to bring their parents to school, or they may not want their parents to talk with the teachers because they feel that the teacher won't

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> respect his parents and he'll think, 'Well, they are not clean. They don't live in a house like I do.' I think that means that they are going to have to get out with the parents and see how they live. They are going to have to talk in a classroom about things that relate to the child."

An Albuquerque employment counselor gave an example of one of the many cultural problems that can affect teacher-student relationships as well as parent-student relationships:

> "At home most of the Indian children are taught to stand at attention while looking down -- maybe the parent has reprimanded him for something. Instead of looking you in the eye, he will look down. He goes to school and the teacher will say, 'Look at me.' The child is listening but yet because his eyes are focused away from the teacher she gets after him and says, 'Look at me.' So that the child is so confused when he gets home that he doesn't know whether to look down or look up or what."

Similarly, an art instructor, who is an Indian, described another cultural factor which caused problems in school:

> "A lot of the kids, I've found, don't want to come in and let anyone know they are in trouble. They seem to want to work it out for themselves. I think this business of a shame factor in American Indian culture is something that keeps them from doing this; they feel ashamed, and many times this is the way American Indian culture uses to punish kids."

In addition to these kinds of misunderstandings, several of the people we talked with claimed that there is an intentional repression of culturally-determined behavior in some schools. A counselor for an urban youth organization explained:

> "If the school or the religious institution which grabs you from your home and takes you some place else . . and if this Catholic missionary or this Mormon or Presbyterian person comes and tells you, 'You're a pagan; you're a heathen. That religion you believe in and the dances and songs are wrong,'

> What happens to the child who grew up believing that this is the right thing; that it is what helped his people to grow and become what they are? What happens to that child when you say 'You're dirty,' or 'That is a bunch of superstitious nonsense?' What kind of reaction is that child going to have? He's going to feel inadequate; he's going to feel ashamed .... And when its done to you every day, every minute of the day when ... you're in school ... then this causes a lot of mental anguish -- psychological anguish."

College and Vocational Counseling

According to the literature, there are very few guidance counselors in Indian schools, and most of them lack professional training. Occupational counseling is only rarely offered and psychological counseling is practically nonexistent.

The underlying theme of most remarks about school counseling was that Navajo and Papago students need, but often do not have, the opportunity to make informed decisions about their own careers. Counseling plays an especially important role in making such choices possible. An Indian employment counselor who works in Albuquerque, New Mexico, expressed his perspective in some detail:

> "We would like for the educational system to bring him to a point where the Indian can make his own decision as to where he wants to go from there, whether it be to a vocational field or to an institute of higher learning. And when he gets there, we want him to go beyond that -- to be a lawyer, or be a doctor ... And he would be aware of all the resources that he had available to him, and the final decision would be his .... Not where the Indian youth would drop out, and him coming to us later so we could put him into some manpower training program, and we're dictating to him what he should be.
>
> "The educational system says, well, you are good for this type of thing. I have had that in my experience;

I almost thought I had to go into a vocational type of occupation, because that's what I thought my teachers were telling me.

"The way it is now, I don't think any vocational choices are being decided until the junior or senior years. I think the individual should be exposed to the many types of occupations as early as say, the 7th or 8th grades .... I think this would have to be special guidance classes, and this is where Indian guidance counselors would come in. And here again, as far as Indian guidance counselors are concerned, these counselors should be exposed to the experiences in the outside world."

These suggestions raise several important questions: about the adequacy of vocational counseling in orienting Indian students to the work environment, the practice of tracking students away from professions which require further academic training, the present high student/counselor ratios, and the limited number of Indian counselors.

A Navajo employment counselor talked about orientation to vocations:

"I don't think that in the reservation school they have had what you would call occupational curriculum. I wish that the schools on the reservation -- the BIA schools or the public schools -- would teach these youngsters from the elementary [level] on up what the world of work is all about, and what occupations they should go into."

A Navajo youth complained bitterly about the inadequacy and blue-collar bias of the guidance programs:

"Because of the type of education that the white man has imposed upon us, the Navajos have made very little progress. Today we have only one doctor and one lawyer in our Navajo tribe. If the white man's education had been what it was built up to be, we could have had more ... professional people. Instead today we are pushed into vocational training. Therefore, we have about 10 mechanics for every car on the reservation, and 25 welders for every welding shop on the reservation. Our people have been told to take these kinds of training, even though we have very little of these jobs on the reservation."

A BIA school guidance counselor felt that insufficient help is available to Indian students because the ratio of students-to-counselors is to high:

> "We need more counselors and less students, ratio-wise; our counselors also need to get out more and have better contacts than they have in the past. In the past they have been saddled with running the dormitory."

The apparent fact that most counselors are not Indians exacerbates the problem, because Indian people are slow to trust and communicate with advisors who have unfamiliar orientations.

The Relevance of School Curricula to Indian Identity

A number of writers criticized the repressive approach of the schools to the Navajo or Papago child's bilingualism. They state that if the use of his native language is discouraged or forbidden, the child becomes literate in neither English or his own language. It is also stated by several writers that one must master one's own language before it is possible to learn a second language adequately; several of them note that detrimental psychological effects can result from implying that one's language is inferior. However, bilingual education programs are the exception, and teachers who are qualified to teach them are rare.

Navajo And Papago people have strong negative feelings toward anti-Indian subject matter, even though much of the material which was most offensive to Indian people has now been deleted from both BIA and public school curricula. However, according to our interviews, many schools still use materials that are devoid of meaning to those who do not live in a middle-class Anglo community. As yet, most course materials do not supply an accurate image of Indian people -- which could help Indian students learn to relate to both cultures in a constructive way.

Most developers of curricula that are used in Indian schools are not Indians; creating programs of study based on accurate knowledge of an Indian culture would naturally be extremely difficult for non-Indian people. Only in places like the Rough Rock Demonstration School are Indian communities themselves developing subject matter relating to both cultures.

In developing a more relevant curricula, one step that is being considered today is teaching English as a second language. Another step toward curriculum redevelopment is the inclusion of the study of an accurate Navajo or Papago history and culture, which would reinforce a child's self-image as part of an Indian heritage in which he can take pride. A Papago first-grade teacher suggested materials and teaching styles related to Indian identity. She also suggested that the traditional stress upon group decisions could be utilized in teaching:

> "Right now, the education that we have is not really ours. ... It's not really working because it's not ours, and it's not our language, and it doesn't seem to get through to the children ... If the schools or someone would point out ... the ways of our life, and how the older generation has taught the children all of the different skills that have to do with living, maybe we could find some way to use it in the schools so they would be able to grasp it quickly and not have to take a month to learn one skill. I heard a speech ... that mentioned some of the things that needed to be done in schools. And one thing that was mentioned was the open classroom where a different group or different individuals were doing things on their own. He felt that was one way of getting our Indian children interested in learning because at home we do things in groups; at home we're free to learn, however long it takes us to learn; we don't rush to learn things. He felt that it would be the same case in the open classroom. It would fit the Indian style."

It is probable that if special curricula were now being used in Indian schools, many decisions about occupations and life styles would be facilitated. If some recognition were made of the value of an Indian heritage to an Anglo culture, it is likely that informed self-determination

of career and social goals as well as the acquisition of necessary work skills would be facilitated.

According to our interviews, there is a widespread desire for the kind of education which will allow the student to choose a means of making a living from the alternatives actually available wherever he wishes to live, and to then learn the appropriate skills so that vocational and social success are possible.

An art instructor described the constraints on his own education, both in terms of the decisions he was not allowed to make and the limitations of an Indian school that is part of a system designed for Anglo students:

> "What's happening in education today is that people are saying, 'What's relevant for us?' It's not necessarily trigonometry or algebra. That wasn't relevant for me; I wasn't going to be in any kind of math field where I would be using that. I still had to take it in order to get the final goal at the end of four years, which is the degree. .... In other words, the student here has to follow a certain pattern of coursework, particularly in high school. Now ... the school can't change that pattern for the high school kids for the simple reason that we would lose state accreditation if we do ... Which makes it twice as difficult to get anybody into college."

The Dormitory Experience

Because long distances and scattered population on the reservations make it difficult to organize and staff local schools, the BIA has, for many years, operated on- and off-reservation dormitories for Indian students. A great deal of the conflict between the two cultures has centered upon dormitory residence.

According to school policy, the dormitory environment should reinforce Anglo behavior. According to Indian parents, the dormitory life should be an extension of Indian home life. What remains after a seeming

compromise has been achieved, according to our interviews, is in fact an authoritarian system of understaffed but strict supervision, which may be represented as the close supervision Indian families want for their children.

In an earlier section of this volume, the implications to the individual of isolation from the family were discussed. In dormitories, especially where home visits are restricted, even very young children are subject to this isolation. Comments about the psychological impact of dormitory life on Indian children were frequently made. A sampling of the remarks follows, beginning with a Navajo woman's own memories of loneliness:

> "When I was going to school ... luckily I had an aunt who was the dorm attendant and I had it good because she was always there when I needed her. But when you are way off the reservation this is what causes the turmoil and the feelings these students get. There is nobody to help them, no one to turn to, nobody to talk to .... So I feel that if Indian children are going to be at a school, Indian adults and Indian counselors should be around because they understand the youth, the background, the culture, the traditions."

A Papago woman talked about the strain on Indian children's relationships with their parents because of the long separation:

> "In the BIA schools, a child has to leave his home ... because there are no schools in his area. He's gone nine months of the year ... so he really has nothing to do with his parents, unless his parents are able to go to the school and visit. And sometimes it's hard to do, unless the BIA sends a bus up there .... These children are in boarding schools when they need their parents the most."

An Indian youth counselor was one of several individuals who discussed what happens when students return from dormitories to their families:

"That is another part of their shock, too, when they start school and are taken away from their homes for eight or nine months to attend these boarding schools, at age eight or nine .... They are sent to school and taught that their whole way of life [is no good], their diets aren't right, their houses aren't clean. Then they go back home and you can imagine the trauma that they have to go through."

Parents' Attitudes Toward the Education System

The education systems on the Navajo and Papago reservations often do not seem directly relevant to Indian needs. In some of our interviews it was suggested, in fact, that non-Indian administrators are hostile to Indians and their culture. Stories of cruelty to Indian students in BIA and mission schools are apparently handed down much as tribal or family tradition are. Such lore affects the attitudes of the community toward the role of education and toward the Anglos who administer and staff the schools.

When Navajo and Papago parents discuss their school systems, they almost invariably talk about their children. They may first comment briefly upon their own experiences in the schools; then they turn to an analysis of the relationship between parents and children. For example, a Navajo who now works in an urban employment service related:

> "My mother never gave me any encouragement to stay in school. I ran away from the first school I went to -- it was a Catholic school. I ran away. The kids always kept beating me up so I didn't like it. I went to school half a day and took off. My uncle who had two years of college and was in World War II, he picked me up and put me in school. He kept me there. He took me at times right into the school so I wouldn't run away.
>
> "I find that most Indian students that have made it beyond high school are the ones that have their parents backing them up. They say, 'You'd better get that education, boy. I don't need you today. You better go to school.' They have learned that education is a good thing."

Although it may be true that Indian children will attend school if their parents insist, many aspects of the school system apparently work against parental acceptance. The system is neither understandable nor responsive to members of a traditional Indian community, according to many

reservation residents. A former tribal official from the Papago reservation talked about recent changes in the reservation schools:

> "Sure and sure there were public schools that were coming on reservations. Government schools could not operate in the same way, run by the same policies as the public schools, where the people have decided more their own destiny in the way of the kind of education or the program that they want. In the latter part of '60, I would say, was when things were beginning to turn to where the people within reservations had ... a greater voice in deciding what they should have in their schools. But still they don't have anything to do with hiring teachers in the government schools."

In addition to a lack of community control, there is a tenuous connection between the school and the community in terms of perceived functions of education. Residents of the reservation may interact, when given the opportunity, with the portions of the system that are designed to reach parents, such as the P.T.A. and school board. And they have a close relationship with their children. However, there is very little history of community involvement in curriculum development, staffing, financial support, facility planning, or development of goals and objectives.

The problems that are created as a result of the lack of involvement of the parents are related to specific cultural patterns. In a culture where group decision making is a tradition, policies that are set without consultation with the community are mistrusted and are not supported by that community. Several instances were related by interviewees to illustrate this.

When problems with children arise, parents may tend to ascribe the blame to the schools. According to a Papago woman, the solution is simply to get parents to become involved in their children's education:

"For our public schools, I think in the last few months we are trying to get a lot of the parents involved. I think that this is so important. ... Our young parents can be referred to, should [the children] come up with a problem."

Members of the Anglo and Indian cultures often disagree as to what the goal of education should be. School administrators think Indian youth ought to be trained to be competitive and successful in Anglo society. Navajo and Papago parents think their children ought to learn how to live within their reservation society. These two views are not necessarily incompatible; however, because there is so little communication, confusion and conflict arise. Navajo and Papagos believe that the school system is pre-empting the role of a traditional Indian parent; therefore they expect the school to serve as a part-time parent. Although this may, in fact, happen insofar as individual teachers have a parental impact, that impact is not generally the same as that which an Indian parent would have.

Conversely, school officials believe that the Indian parents will serve the same function as Anglo parents in reinforcing certain attitudes about education and living styles. Indian parents, especially those who subscribe to traditional values, cannot do that. Work, as we have noted earlier, means different things in the two cultures. The attitudes toward work that are instilled in Indian children by their parents will not resemble those that educators expect.

The Indian concept of parenthood is different from the boarding school philosophy of in loco parentis. However, there are surface similarities, as the following comment by a Navajo parent suggests:

"The teachers are doing a good job. If they supervise the children it is good. The same goes for the dormitory workers; if they supervise the children closely then it is good."

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The cultural differences in this concept become apparent as this same person continues:

> "If the teachers teach the children properly then the students will not talk back or smart off to the teacher. It is true that if a teacher does not teach properly and if the teacher talks to students in a rough manner then the students learn to be like the teacher.
>
> "If the teacher cusses the student they in turn will cuss the teacher and will lose respect for their elders and start getting into trouble in retaliation."

In other words, the teacher should not only supervise, he should provide an example of proper behavior for the child to emulate and to respect.

Supervision of young people in a traditional culture does not involve the use of punishment or authoritarianism of the kind that Anglo educators have learned. This subtle difference creates a strain for Indian children in non-Indian schools. Indian teachers in Indian controlled schools may help to alleviate the problem; but relationships between Indian communities and the school system seem, for the present, to be too strained to make this change likely in the immediate future.

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PREPARING RESERVATION YOUTH FOR TODAY'S JOB MARKET

Job Opportunities on the Reservation

Introduction

A general finding of this study, which has broad implications for the design of model programs, is that the majority of Indian young people wants desire to find jobs near their reservation homes. Repeatedly, however, we read in the literature and were told in our interviews that there is almost no work available on the reservations, and that those who need to find work are forced to migrate, usually to urban areas far from the reservation. Perhaps no other statement was so universally made.

Some persons contended that the barren reservation land can support only a limited population; yet others pointed out that it should be possible both to make the land more productive and to provide jobs for people so they could support their families without directly working the land. We were given many suggestions for implementing economic development of the reservations on Indian terms. We were also told frequently that the only successful programs for Indians will be programs that make it possible for them to realize their own goals.

In this section the present limitations on the availability of jobs on the Navajo and Papago reservations are discussed. In addition, several recommendations with regard to optimizing the employment potential of the reservations are mentioned.

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Professional Jobs

The general consensus among the interviewees was that there is a demand for highly skilled professionals on the reservations, but that these jobs are likely to be filled by Anglos because "qualified" Indians cannot be found to fill them. Areas in which a need for qualified professionals was expressed include: administration, medicine, teaching, social work, and engineering. Generally it was thought that any Indian with a degree was in a very good position to find work. One respondent suggested that there is a growing movement among younger Indians to get an education and to displace those Anglos who presently hold professional jobs.

A few problems were mentioned with regard to accomplishing this task; among these were the difficulty faced by an Indian professional in gaining the acceptance of his own people and the absolute limit on professional jobs in terms of available room on the reservation. A sampling of the comments, which indicate that many professional opportunities do exist for qualified Indians on the reservations, follows. A Papago employment counselor who lives and works on the reservation stated:

> "There is a big demand for such jobs as administrative work -- directors for certain programs. There is a demand but we have very few people that can do this type of work, and most of these people are already hired for these jobs .... I know that there are openings but we don't have the people that could qualify for these jobs and they are available now."

An official at the Navajo Community College in Chinle, Arizona, said:

> "There aren't that many jobs on the reservation. Really there is a big demand for Indians, especially for those who have a degree. When they're engaged in their specialty, the qualifications to hire anyone without any degrees are possible, or people who are college and are qualified to do whatever needs to be done."

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A BIA official on the Papago reservation pointed out:

> "There is an opportunity for them to participate in a professional role; for example, this year there are two teachers and two of them are Papago. I think Papago people have an opportunity to get those jobs. But I don't think that they are aware that they can prepare for those jobs. And this is true in all the other professions. If they just prepare themselves ... they could stay at home and ... take care of their home obligations and yet participate as a classroom teacher or social worker or engineer."

A professor in charge of Indian programs at a southwestern university commented:

> "I don't know if anybody has ever pulled this together and said, 'There are X number of jobs for people without degrees, and these are filled by X number of Papago's; and there are X number of jobs professionally.' I think what you will find is that for the professional jobs, the ratio between the Anglos and the Indians is disproportionate, as compared to the nonprofessional."

He also discussed the problem faced by an Indian professional in gaining the acceptance of his own people:

> "You see, it's kind of a new idea to the Indians, to displace the Anglos in these professions .... I recall [taking part in] a medical recruitment program in which I visited most of the Indian communities of this state; I talked to both Indians and non-Indians on the reservations about the idea of Indians coming in as physicians or medical students. This was rejected and opposed. ... First of all we were hitting at a pretty sacred cow, you know. The Anglo's model of success and achievement is the M.D. ... There had never been any Indian models of success in this realm; and they had never seen an Indian doctor -- I mean a physician .... And so this was kind of frightening to some and kind of strange to others. We found there was a problem of empathic acceptance of this idea, although it has changed since '68 when I went out there .... The Indians are beginning to recognize that they can become professionally trained. And of course,

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there is the problem of re-entry into the community, which we find from listening to some of our students and graduates: their anxiety at returning as a professional equipped with a foreign way of life to serve their own people."

Nonetheless, it is clear that most of the interviewees believe that many professional jobs for Indians are there for the taking, and that this will happen as more Indian young people obtain degrees.

Indian-Owned Businesses

Many of the Indians we talked with (as well as some Anglos) expressed the strong sentiment that all enterprises on the reservations should be owned and operated by Indians. Most on-reservation businesses are owned by Anglos, who may or may not employ Indians. The problem, according to some, is that Indians lack both capital and training in management techniques. Others suggested ways in which small business operations by Indians could be made successful. A Papago OEO official from Sells, Arizona, explained his idea:

"You can get small business loans. We don't have them available for that, maybe because we don't have anyone out telling the young people that they can do this. .... I look to that like we can run our own store. Right now, we are still dependent on non-Papagos, and sometimes these non-Papagos don't want us to run our own place. They're still running them."

A young student at the Navajo Community College commented:

"Today you have a lot of talk. They say it is better for Navajos to own their own businesses such as motels, stores, cafes, gas stations, etc. Right now the Navajo Nation receives [illegible] to oil-producing reservations, [illegible] to several million dollars ... [illegible] 85 percent of [illegible] Navajo Nation [illegible] Navajo, wouldn't this be better?"

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And a Papago elementary school teacher stated:

> "I would like to be able to see our tribe develop like the town next door, East Grande, to be able to have all facilities for our reservation and our stores, garages, banks, anything ... in the town. Also, the Papagos might be able to take over the schools and be heads of their schools."

An Apache BIA official in Whiteriver described recent efforts by the Apache tribe to generate a small business on the reservation:

> "Several people are engaged in tourism and development of tourism. The tribe has a large department handling this. Of course, ideally, you could generate the dollars right on the reservation. You could circulate them, rather than going off to Albuquerque or wherever you might go. This would be a real advantage, but, unfortunately, in order to start a business, it takes capital. Even with the emphasis on minority groups and small business loans, there still needs to be more relaxation in terms of policy. Then, too, we have to have trained people. We don't really have too many people that have the capital and also the training."

The Indian representative of an urban employment service described a peculiar situation where one Indian family combined traditional knowledge with Anglo industrial methods to make a profit:

> "I think a large part of the Indian culture, like weaving and silversmithing ... will go away some day. Those that want to hang on to this thing, want to do the Indian dances, want to make the costumes -- the girls who want to weave, the boys or girls who want to do silversmithing, -- they keep the thing going. ... There are a number of ways ... that Indians can benefit from what they know if they just know how to pursue the goals they set. But if it comes to business, they are still going to have to get some of the white man's education and white man's ways to do this, new things. They are going to have to interact then. ....

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> "I have several people at the reservation who don't speak English, but who have made a living by the crafts that they know. ... We are talking about [behind the Sacheen doll] .... [One man] took a motor and a generator and put some rough sandpaper on the face of it. They use the soft cottonwood to make these dolls ... and he makes them real fast. ... The mother will take soft paper and wrap them up and put them in boxes .... [Then they are through] they will load up .... They will take off maybe for California and [sell them along the way] .... By the time they get home they are all through.
>
> "And these people don't speak English, the kids are the ones who do the talking. These people have pretty well made it, because they can buy a brand new automobile. They have ... everything brand new all the time, just from what their hobby used to be. They don't need the white man."

Another observer, a Hopi who is a university professor, believes that for most Indians a "successful" business enterprise would be a subsistence model rather than a profit model. He described his own "successful" business operation:

> "The difference between dollar-oriented and Anglo-oriented businesses is [the difference] between a profit oriented business and a subsistence operation. The Indians generally have a subsistence kind of orientation, and I think that it would be logical if they would approach an industry in very much the same way. We bring [those skills] in my business; we're doing the same in terms of providing benefits to the employee. Because the Anglo notion of business is to avoid any personal services to the employee, other than what is required by law .... We do counseling, we do training, we do welfare, we are bondsmen, we have to put up the money to get them out of jail, and we do all sorts of things; and we are certainly not taking money. But it is providing a service for a number of people. ... We don't have any set policy. We're open for problems ... [and] some of those come to the surface and it was early in the afternoon, and ... [I] said, 'Let's close up shop.' ... We're not a business. We really don't, and by Anglo terms, we should have been dead ten years ago.

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We probably are dead, so far as the profits. But in fact, to have orders [for products we do not have] we have a market out of which to do the [operation]. We can't begin to meet the demand, but we're ... not killing ourselves to try to step up production. We're doing all we can, but everything has an equilibrium.

"It would be sort of like asking General Motors to destroy its dividends and profits and only produce the automobiles on a job, share the profits with the people, and return the managerial system to the employees. In this company [a]ll part of the family. This is the way we .... Every member that works in this shop has a personal responsibility to his family to come to work. But there's also a personal relationship between the boss ... [and] each one of his employees -- each one of his employees' families .... There is no profit motive, other than just keeping them busy. There are no dividend checks to speak of, just the stockholders, and the ... allegiance between the employer and the employee is very strong. You do not see this in any [Anglo] factories. The minute the units of production show a loss of profit for shareholders, then you're all out in the street."

The point that is common to these observations is that Indians may indeed prefer not to work in business operations. These businesses could be similar to Anglo ones in many respects. They do differ in one essential respect: "success" is defined in terms of the economic and social stability provided by the enterprise to the family and to the community, rather than in terms of high production or individual profit (although there may also be both production and profit involved). This is a key point that may be interpreted in the future economic development of reservation enterprises. Because many Indians have stated their preference for running their own enterprises, this concept could provide the basis for a particular kind of economic development that would be acceptable to the Indian people.

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Non-Indian Operated Businesses

According to both the literature and those we talked with, a number of Anglo businessmen have viewed Indian reservations as potential industrial sites with a supply of cheap, readily available labor and low taxes. In several instances Anglo entrepreneurs have come onto the reservation and set up factories. But, generally within a few years, they have either closed down or replaced most of their Indian workers with Anglos. Some of the interviewees discussed why they think that Anglo industry has not provided more jobs for Indian people. An Anglo BIA official on the Navajo Reservation saw the problem primarily in terms of a lack of job skills among Indians, and described two factories which received tribal subsidies to "compensate" for this deficiency:

> "There's a provision that we would pay up to one half of the minimum wage. Of course, this is an attraction. We also help to recruit, select and screen these people for the staff of these companies. We do a lot of work to follow up, work on community adjustment and this type of thing. We have had several contracts with the companies. For example, we have a large one with the Fairchild Semiconductor Plant at Tripstock -- about 800 people. One of the major reasons that we were able to attract them was because of the subsidy .... Then we have several [name], which is another plant which we were able to attract. And one of the major reasons, again, was the subsidy of on-the-job training and the labor force."

Others maintain that the problem is more complex than simply provision of training to the unskilled. There is reportedly a very high turnover of Indian employees, and often the employer will replace Indians with [illegible]. In addition, most Anglos do not understand the Indian concept of time ("Indian time", discussed above). A southwestern university professor in charge of an Indian studies program described one situation where Indians were originally replaced by Anglos:

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"The vice president and his personnel representatives and other engineers came [to the reservation] to talk about what they wanted to [do] to teach Papagos to work in the mines. They were very professional at that time. One of their chief engineers even wrote an article for this publication, and they were very definite about a certain percentage of Indians who would leave up their tribal ways. They had to set aside a certain amount of money in which Indians could be trained as technicians ... at the time. I [still] the mine was open and the situation was completely changed. The people [who] ran the mine [by the] time they [were] ready for the Indians were more qualified technicians. Yet there was no effort to find out why the Indians was not a dependable employee. Just that the training opportunity was provided him and a job opportunity was there, and 'if he couldn't meet these employment requirements, we just have no room for him here.' ... But there was no personnel man attempting to find out why the Indians weren't on the job."

He added his opinion about why Anglos initially are attracted to the reservations to start businesses, and the point at which they no longer view the situation as advantageous:

"Most of the time, these schemes are [based] on a large scale, because every industrialist wants to be [viewed as] successful.... Secondly ... the federal government allows [to] these people, which is the same as to say it's a dollar-for-dollar operation on the reservation .... Tax savings and all of these things are incentives to pull these guys in .... They have certain outlets which never seem to come out into the open as far as the Indians are concerned. Getting tailor-made factories financed by ... free benefits, and a cheap labor force are very strong inducements. We see in the public review of these things that there is a new shoe heard going to the Indians [and] he wants to help [us]. The final factor may be that he's selling with very cheap dollar investment [and] he could [continue to] [pay] little [to] Indians here in that we see [to] be a [bit] reluctant [to] [invest] in [these] [businesses] ... [the] [government] [should] [not] [be] [in] [the] [business] [of] [subsidizing] [industry] [at] [the] [expense] [of] [the] [taxpayer] [and] [the] [Indian]."

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He described the basic problem as the imposition of Anglo values upon Indians, rather than the lack of dependability or motivation described by the Anglo capitalist:

> "I think that you will find that most of the economic development on the Indian reservations are imposed upon these communities. ... That's probably why we see so few Indians on a long-term basis working in factories; and it's precisely why they don't even see this as part of their own system. It's a foreign thing. It brings in tribal revenue and provides some employment, and that's good; they won't argue about that. But does it really belong to that community?

> "I would see some means of Indians accepting economic success on their own terms. You see, when they build a factory on the reservation (like they have at Gila River), the conditions have always been that the Indian is the employee; he will report for work under the conditions as established by the factory itself. That means you have to be there Monday through Friday from 8 to 5. If you miss a day you have to report in why. ... Now here we run into the cross-cultural problem."

Generally, then, Anglo industrialists have apparently not been well received, although tribal officials have sought by many means to attract them. The [assumption has been made] that economic development will not be accepted by the Indian people if it is viewed as being externally imposed, or as existing outside of the whole social fabric of the reservation. As the same university professor explained:

> "You have all of these very difficult value problems in the way they see things and the way we see things as outsiders -- the kinds of commitments that individuals have, the differences in success models and what is achievement. ... Unless we understand these things, the industrialist will come in with the assumption that he has a ready labor pool based on an Anglo kind of criterion and ... a cheap labor force."

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She suggested that paraprofessional categories be created for some, particularly in Public Health Service jobs:

> "They can be trained to do things, such as taking a pulse and recording weight and things like that which a nurse does now."

The red tape involved in the federal application process was also criticized as an unnecessary source of fear and confusion for potential Indian applicants. A Papago elementary school teacher described the reaction of her own students who applied for federal jobs on the Papago reservation:

> "It seems that the way of applying and hearing from the people is frustrating for them. ... Sometimes they say that they never hear from ... the place where they applied; and maybe the next time, they hear that somebody [else] has the job."

Other Types of Work Available on the Reservation

The main generalization which can be made about other job opportunities on the reservation is that there are too few to meet the needs of the residents, and particularly of the young people.

According to an OEO official on the Papago reservation:

> "Right now, there really isn't anything. Traditionally, there hasn't been anything for jobs except the Bureau [BIA], public high school, and very recently the tribe."

The general work picture on the Papago reservation was described by a professor at a nearby university:

> "There is the mining company which is north of Santa Rosa on the way to Casa Grande; they hire and train Papagos.... These are a kind of manual labor on-reservation job. There is another kind of manual labor ... called the Tribal Work Experience Program; that's in

> lieu of welfare payments .... And the Papagos take a special, unique attitude towards this; it's exchange of labor for payment .... There are cattle -- there are some cattle barons out there, who are quite wealthy -- and then there are individual family herds, which are very small. They don't do much farming; I suppose they did it at one time, but they don't seem to do much of it today .... There is a tribal herd and there are a few employees there, but not many. Then there are the tribal jobs: you can be a councilman ... or you can be working in tribal ... contracts with the government, your CAP people ... your community health representatives. Or you could be working for the University; there are a few jobs ... with the Agricultural Extension. Or you can be in a semi-professional job in health, as an LPN or as an ambulance driver or janitor or something like that .... It seems that the high-paying jobs for Indians are only in one place or [a few] places."

A Papago BIA official pointed out that many people who live on the reservation make an economic contribution whether or not they are employed. He objected to the pressure often placed on young Indians to leave the reservation in order to obtain a paying job. As he explained.

> "I do think that they are productive by staying, whether they are on welfare or not. ... They are maintaining their livestock and trying to be self-reliant. ... The people ... should have that choice. If they want to stay here, fine; and if they want to go off, fine. But I don't think that the choice is there now because there just isn't anything here for them to stay [for]."

The widely acknowledged fact that there are few jobs available for Indians who live on reservations should not, according to some interviewees, be taken to imply that there are no areas in which manpower is needed. A Papago man who holds a high level BIA position in Sells, Arizona, described the job potential on the Papago reservation:

> "I think that many would like to work here on the reservation; and maybe a second problem is that we haven't defined the kinds of jobs that ought to be available. Again, it goes back to funding. For instance, there are existing agencies that could ... hire people ....

> But the road people can't put people on because they don't have the money to construct or maintain roads. .... In the area of housing, many of the young people can build houses and have the technical skills, and there's no housing program. ... We're talking about conventional-type jobs, but there are jobs that can be performed by people within the community: community services, recreation, ... health services .... But these we've never really given much thought .... We need far more adequate transportation or temporary housing within the community. These types of jobs would be very innovative...."

Transportation Problems

The scarcity of job opportunities on Indian reservations has been reiterated many times in this report. But scarcity of jobs is not the only serious problem associated with finding a job on the reservations. There are few good-sized towns; most of the reservations' population lives in tiny communities which may not even be near a paved road, much less a potential employer. Many interviewees insisted that provision of transportation or housing would be an essential part of an effective manpower program designed for a reservation. A CEP official for the Navajo tribe commented:

> "Those that we work with through the CEP program, transportation seems to be the problem. Students who drop out of school in the big cities .... They just come home and then they don't find a job. So we try to pick them up here, but the big problem in getting them to apply for work is transportation."

A Navajo man from the vicinity of Many Farms, Arizona, explained that the problem is threefold: there are few roads in the isolated area; in bad weather travel even on these roads is difficult; and few families can afford reliable cars or trucks.

Off-Reservation Job Opportunities

BIA Employment Assistance Program

The services provided by the Employment Assistance Program are divided into three main categories: relocation to an urban area, provision of job training, and direct job placement. Ideally, an Indian is brought to an area where job opportunities exist and provided with whatever services he needs in order to find and obtain a job. In our interviews there was much criticism of the actual working of this program, particularly from persons connected with other Indian-oriented services in urban areas. Even the BIA officials seem to be some confused about the limits of the services they should provide through the program. Compounding the problem was, reportedly, a generally negative attitude among Indians with regard to this BIA program.

According to some, the BIA Employment Assistance program has certain limitations, although other urban agencies expect that it will deal with all of the problems of urban Indians. A BIA caseworker in Oakland, complained:

> "No matter how many times you say it, welfare organizations ... feel that the Bureau of Indian Affairs can assist any Indian, regardless of circumstances. You repeat to them, over and over and over that there are certain regulations that we must conform to."

She saw her role as a liaison with other service agencies:

> "We get a lot of calls, and people walk in, asking all sorts of things. ... A lot of our services to drop-ins are in the nature of referrals [to other agencies].

On the other hand, the director of an urban Indian center in San Francisco stated that BIA employees, in her experience, thought that

Indians ought to seek help first from the BIA. But the director of another Indian center in the same city described what he considered the inflexible attitude of the BIA:

> "One time when I was over at the BIA, she said, 'You guys come over here, and the way that you put it to us is like the BIA is here to serve you; here to help you.' I said that's exactly what the BIA is supposed to be doing, if you don't realize that. And she didn't; she thought that she was going to lay down the law to us, and if we didn't get there at a certain time, they were going to cut us off.... Even if we didn't get there, we've still got it coming.... They say that it's going to be done their way, and that's the only way, and they won't stand for anything else."

He added that few Indian youth look for help from the BIA because of this sort of attitude:

> "The Indian kids coming out here for training ... don't have anybody whom they can turn to. The BIA, yeah; but most of them look down on the BIA because of the way that they treated them when they first got there. So they're not going to go back and ask them for anything, if they get around it."

In the following sections, positive and negative comments about each of the three specific components of the Employment Assistance Program are presented.

Relocation. Many interviewees had comments to make on the concept and practice of relocating Indians off the reservations. Generally, criticism came from persons not associated with the BIA. A surprising number of people made the near-militant claim that the real purpose of this BIA program was not to help the Indian but simply to remove him from the reservation. Others complained that the program gives the Indian a one-way ticket to the city with no prior orientation to help him adjust

to urban life; they said that many people are disoriented upon arrival and return to the reservation as soon as they obtain enough money for a return ticket.

In defense of the program, several said that it is a voluntary program, that it is preferable to coming to the city alone, and that help is provided in making the move.

A sampling of the comments about the alleged unwritten policy of the BIA to get Indians off the reservation follows. According to the director of an urban Indian halfway house:

> "He goes to the Bureau, and he's treated like -- no personal contact whatever; very cold and very official. ... Half of the time they'll give him a few dollars just to get rid of him, to relieve their responsibility."

A former official in the Papago tribe complained that the BIA did not tell the young people the whole truth about the opportunities that were available and the amount of help they would provide:

> "But they would put before them all kinds of -- I called it propaganda -- because they were using all kinds of pamphlets that would say ... you can go on a one-year training program, or two-year training program. Take your pick. It's not going to cost you anything. We'll pay your way over there; we'll find you a place to live. You'll take your training and within a year, when you finish this training, then you'll be able to find a job, be ... making money just like anybody else. ... I can't even think of anybody now -- there may be a few -- that really stuck it out...."

A counselor for an urban intertribal Indian center in Oakland seemed to impute a deliberate motive to the BIA for relocating the Indians:

> "They weren't telling the Indian this, but it was obvious that they were just trying to get the Indian

> away from the reservation .... It didn't matter how they did it. They'd promise them they'd give them money and an apartment. ... Sure, it might look rosy and beautiful for the first few months because they're getting money and have a nice clean place to live. ... When it comes time for the job and they're through with training, they say, 'Here's a list. Go check all of these places.' The Indian has no idea how to present himself to get that job, and he's beaten already, and he knows it. So he goes back to the reservation. ... It sounds like they're trying to help them. ... All they're doing is moving them from one poverty stricken area to another."

A BIA employment assistance officer working on the Navajo reservation, while stressing that the program is a voluntary one, also noted that opportunities are limited for Indians on the reservations and that this implies a need for relocation:

> "We have recently asked for more local vocational training opportunities .... We have been criticized in the past for relocating the people into the ghetto areas .... However, keep in mind that this is a voluntary program and people have to demonstrate to us that they want to go on their own. The opportunities here on the reservation are quite limited right now in the way of training. So we do have to have other means to give them the opportunity."

Another frequent criticism of the relocation program was that little realistic orientation is given to the Indian as to what life for him will be like in a city, which he may never have been to before. The director of an urban Indian youth organization stated:

> "The BIA gives them a one-way ticket to go out there and then supposedly enrolls them in some school and offers some sort of a stipend for living expenses and ... school expenses, and that's it. After that, the students have to fend for themselves. There is no prior education on how to adjust to the city. Many of these people have lived all of their lives on the reservation, in rural communities. They go out there, in most cases with an inadequate education, and they just don't adjust."

The director of an urban Indian halfway house in San Francisco commented:

> "When you come from the rural areas to an urban center, initially, you've got this big period of readjustment to go through.... The majority come to the BIA and look for orientation .... They may be given a map and a little brochure on San Francisco, and they do have orientation sessions that are completely inadequate .... They need the counseling and the guidance. They need the people that they can relate to. The Bureau -- the people there don't realize that their guidelines just aren't going to work for everybody. The personal, the individual thing is gone. That's why the kids have problems, get into trouble."

The director of an urban Indian program also suggested that not enough information about city life is provided by the BIA:

> "The BIA gives them a false impression also; they don't tell them what to expect when they get here .... They give you a map of the city and they say, 'Well, these are the points of interest,' and that's about it. There's no orientation as to what to expect as far as the people, employer-employee relationships, things of this sort."

An employment service official from an urban area described the problem of adjustment in terms of cultural shock:

> "....Many of our Indians come from the reservation; they arrive to a total change from one society to another, different society. To try to cope with learning a trade and the problems [connected with that] and then live in a society and cope with the problems of that makes it a considerable shock. It really discourages many of our people. Maybe ... we should train them on the reservation and then send them to the city. Or have some sort of orientation on the reservation so they know what to expect when they get to the city."

On the other hand, several employees of the BIA program pointed out that help is certainly provided to the Indian who moves to the city, and that he is at more of an advantage than if he had to fend for himself. An urban BIA caseworker explained:

> "If they have no one to live with here and they don't know anyone else with whom to share an apartment, we usually [help them find] a room with board. ... Then, after they are acquainted in school and know their way around the city ... they'll usually chum up with someone else and get an apartment. Families are assisted in finding an appropriate apartment ... anywhere in the city."

A BIA school superintendent protested:

> "Employment assistance has done some good work in this. ... They have people who are in constant contact with them, helping them to know what streetcar to catch, where to buy groceries, how to buy groceries in supermarkets, and all of these things you have to learn."

And, according to an urban employment service counselor, Indians coming in on the BIA relocation program are relatively well off in comparison to others who come in on their own:

> "They have financial assistance, at least they have some sort of security. And they also have a ticket home in case they don't make it here. But those coming out on their own ... have absolutely nothing."

Training. Most of the comments that were made about the training of Indians were critical. It was alleged, particularly, that the counseling associated with the training component is inadequate because only a small variety of options are presented and unrealistic expectations are instilled. Also, it was charged that the kinds of training provided often do not lead to readily available jobs.

In contrast, those who provide the counseling indicate that many different kinds of relevant training are offered. According to an Employment Assistance official working on the Navajo reservation:

> "We have a lot of people that are interested in ... all kinds of clerical work, medical occupations ... including RN. And we have occupations in the skilled trades area, which is machine shop, auto mechanics and welding; all kinds of opportunities in these areas.... We have all kinds of training."

A BIA official in an urban program explained that career choice is up to the client not the counselor:

> "Any kind of a job that he can best qualify himself is the direction that we go. The agency officer ... might say 'Look, you might be interested in this field, but your abilities are such that you can't qualify for this. So let's put you in this.' He counsels with them as to what direction they should head. And of course [if they say] 'Look, I just want a job', and they may have had a couple of jobs in body and fender, and if that's what they want to do, it's more or less left up to them."

This view of the counseling provided was questioned by others whom we interviewed. According to a social worker in an urban Indian program, the options for Indians are often predefined:

> "The problem with this program has been [that] it sounds like a nice alternative but there really hasn't been an alternative involved. [Either] you stay home and don't have work, or you come here to the city and have welding shoved down your throat. That's really not much of a choice. I don't think that people really have a sense of making their own choices about where they want to make their lives. ... This is the real tragedy. What goes on with the Bureau is that people are not individualized enough. ... Chances are that in the catalog that they choose their jobs from ... they just kind of fling it open and say, 'Okay, go down and pick your city and pick your time, your place, and we'll sign you up.'"

She added that the counselor may be unsympathetic to the client who finds out he really is not interested in the field he is being trained for:

> "They're not fulfilling their roles as counselors in motivating these people in different areas of education. They say, 'Well, you're a welder, and that's what you have to be'. They say, 'If you've got any problems, come in and talk to me about it'. But when this guy comes in to talk about it he'll say, 'Well, you're the one who signed up for welding, and there's not much that we can do about it because you've gone past your six-month changeover'. ... They're not doing their jobs."

This woman also thought that careers other than the skilled trades should be open to Indians.

Similarly, the director of an urban Indian program stated:

> "Most of the [training programs] the Indians attend are BIA sponsored. Or the BIA sends the youth out and pays for his or her tuition and books and what have you. But you can't just go to whatever [program] you want to. It has to be in one of the books that the BIA has; and I don't know what it takes to become sponsored by the BIA."

The director for another urban Indian program agreed that only a few areas are open for vocational training:

> "Three major areas that the BIA sends people to for training are barbering, mechanics, and welding, for the men -- for the women, most of them go to beauty school. And when [the men] come out they find out that there is not really a demand for welders or mechanics. ... In the Bay area we are trying to set up some programs ... to prepare them for the kinds of jobs that actually exist."

Training *per se* is of little value if the person who has it is unable to find work. A Papago man who formerly held a high tribal position explained the dilemma faced by many Indians who had obtained training already:

> "It takes money to go somewhere to look for a job. It takes money to get into the union before he can even start working. So there are the things that ... they didn't tell him -- just what he's going to have to do before he can get a job. So I can understand why _____ said there were young Indian men ... back on the reservation that had three or four training certificates in their pockets that didn't mean anything."

According to an urban Employment Service official, Indians may come to a city on the strength of a false expectation that training will be arranged for them:

> "I talked to one fellow who had made out an application .... This was about a year ago, I think; and he had wanted to get into something in the way of training. And the way BIA drew the picture, when he finally came here, the whole thing didn't appear that way. I think that rather than to build up a false picture of what to expect ... give the kids a real picture of things."

Placement. One BIA employment counselor noted that he has recently placed Indians in some professional areas, and that the prospects for more varieties of direct placement are improving. Also, one study has shown that the amount earned on the job correlates directly with the amount spent on the recipient by the BIA for employment assistance services. Otherwise, the general tenor of comments abou the "Direct Employment" component of the BIA Employment Assistance Program were negative. Some said that a falsely rosey picture is given to the client, who may be assured that a job is reserved for him but arrives in town only to find that he does not really qualify. According to others, recipients of BIA training are often placed in jobs where they are unable to use that training. According to the director of an urban Indian program:

> "A lot of times the BIA will send somebody out ... for direct employment and they don't really check the man over to see if he has the qualifications."

Others suggested that many young people discover that finding a job is not as easy as they are led to expect by employment assistance officials, even when an Indian has received training in the job he is applying for. An urban employment counselor specializing in Indian employment stated:

> "Apparently, in their orientation they're told that they're going to get this kind of job and live in this kind of place and on and on. But once they get out here ... the fellows here have a very difficult time finding housing and finding employment. And after they're trained, like I said, the way the market is it's just not open to them. Nurses' aides -- a four-month course is just a waste -- you know, wasting a person's time for four months. And auto mechanics -- welding is down. These programs just aren't working."

In support of the placement program, an urban BIA counselor explained that the quality of placements he has made for his clients is improving:

> "It's kind of hard, at times, to try to put a person who is not fully qualified for a job ... into a job that he can't quite handle. We're getting people something like a welfare job -- not exactly a machinist but a general laborer, maybe cleaning around machines and things like body and fender. These are mainly the kinds of jobs that I've been dealing with so far.
>
> "It seems to me that we're making a little headway now. We've got a couple of draftsmen now, and we've placed a couple of radio announcers, and I placed one computer programmer. These people are all trained through our program so that they can go out and get better jobs, rather than just go down and get a laborer type job."

Other Federal Job and Job Training Programs

Most of the comments which were made about existing federal job and job training programs could be summarized in one simple statement:

they have not successfully filled the job needs of urban or reservation Indians. Criticism was directed at all aspects of federal job programs; particularly, the applicability of most programs to Indian needs was frequently questioned, and the inflexibility of models and guidelines (which were established for non-Indian populations) was underscored. It was claimed that Indians are directed into vocations which do not reflect their abilities or interests, but simply the convenience of the program administrators and the training permissible by program guidelines. According to one study, most federal job training programs are designed for urban, non-Indian populations, and they do not help facilitate occupational adjustment for Indians. Many interviewees, both on and off the reservations, agreed with these findings.

The majority of the criticisms were directed at the policy-making level. Federal programs were criticized chiefly for lack of coordination, inflexibility, and inapplicability to Indian needs. According to an urban HRD counselor, a major problem is lack of overall coordination of federal manpower programs, either with each other or with market supply and demand:

> "I think ... somebody should take a look at them.... I think we'd find that half the people aren't working in the fields they were trained in. We sent 28 fellows to auto mechanics training. ... The job dropout rate was tremendous; it was about a 75% dropout rate. And those that finished aren't working in the field.

> "Because the Department of Labor, instead of saying, 'There is individual training; you can use any school you want to', or 'Send him to clerical training or data processing or LPN training', they say 'Here are thirty auto mechanics training slots; you fill them'. ... So you can't really sit down and talk to a person and find out what his interests are."

A BIA employment assistance counselor remarked that there are too many programs with overlapping and duplication of services:

A BIA employment assistance counselor remarked that there are too many programs with overlapping and duplication of services:

> "There is ... something like 63 [federal programs] operating in New Mexico. You go down to our State Offices and ask general Joe Blow what these all are and he could no more give you the answer than the man in the moon.
>
> "....So a young guy comes out and says, 'How am I going to gain experience to qualify for that job?' [We say], 'Well, someone will train you. Go to the BIA, they have all kinds of programs. Go to the State, they have got programs.' ... Well, it's a saying that every do-gooder in this country has got a program designed to help Indian people, blacks or Spanish-Americans; and they are going to solve the problems one way or the other. But, if you were to boil them all down into one large pot, they would have duplication of services coming out of our ears, but no solution."

The goal of providing job training in an already glutted labor market was questioned by a Navajo man from the vicinity of Many Farms, Arizona. As our field representative translated it, he said:

> "As for what kind of job training the students need, I believe that the Navajos can do just about any job. But the trouble is, where is the job?"

The director of an urban Indian service center agreed:

> "We need jobs. We need training schools for Indians so that they have a job waiting for them when they get out of the training program. They have skill centers now, and they train people ... and then when they get out, there's no job waiting for them."

A fine example of the absurdity of training programs in some instances was given by a Papago:

> "They picked out 100 people and sent them off to this [welding] school. ... I'd be driving along and all of a sudden I see a young man standing over here

> herding sheep, or doing something -- or nothing really -- on the reservation. And it would come to me that they had gone off on this special training. And what are they doing ... with a certificate in their pocket as welders and they're out here herding sheep. And then they'd come to the government again; they're ready for another program. Probably the next program is a six-week special training as heavy equipment operators; off they'd go -- usually the same bunch of young people that took the first training. But off they'd go, finish their training and come back. They're out there herding sheep; this time they've got two certificates in their pocket. And so really the government wasn't helping anybody."

Another main emphasis of federal manpower programs -- that is, the provision of short-term vocational training -- was also questioned by several persons. For example, an urban HRD counselor for the State Employment Service stated:

> "What I'm really trying to do is get them into additional training or motivate them enough to get into the universities, into the colleges ... You know, [I was] sitting down and talking to them about going into a junior college; they really don't think about these things. And I guess they've been brainwashed into vocational training so much that [they think] this is the only thing that's open to them. And you have some really bright kids that could do well in the university systems. We have a new program that we're going to start working with, doing training in the junior colleges. This alone would be a motivating factor. They'd be on a campus; they'd get to know the ropes .... Hopefully ... they'll go out and take additional courses. I think if some [or] all of the BIA training was done in community colleges ... it would benefit a lot more."

With respect to the rigid guidelines of federal programs, Indian spokesmen had much to say. An OEO official for the Papago tribe stated:

> "Manpower programs in general should try making a certain amount of money available for the tribe to organize a program with, providing only a consultant and some kind of a technical assistant to help in setting up these programs. Department of Labor programs should

> have flexibility in the guidelines and in the salary level, and they should also attempt to coordinate the existing programs they now have."

Guidelines also create difficulties for administrators when they are not designed with specific geographic needs in mind. A Papago Employment Service counselor explained:

> "They have a night course here at the public school. But the trouble is that ... those who are really interested live way out in the remote areas, 60-70 miles from here, and no transportation [is provided]."

One person pointed out also that federal program budgets may make it impossible even to provide the limited services authorized in the guidelines. An NYC program director, for example, stated:

> "This is a problem, the quota. We would like to have more ... because there are a lot of youth that need work. Our program here ... doesn't cover all the youth. I would say that at least 2000 youth ... are ... left out."

The administration of federal programs has failed, according to those whom we interviewed, because there is little understanding either of how the job market works or of the occupational preferences of their Indian clients. It appears that Indians often are forced into a few areas which are suited neither to their personal choice nor to the number of job openings but simply because training in those areas is easily available.

A social worker for an urban Indian center expressed her view of what competent employment counseling should be:

> "There's got to be some way to coordinate those two things: what you would like to do, and what you can do. A job counselor [should] sit down and talk with these people, and find out these things."

An employment counselor in an urban Human Resources Development office admitted that she takes the easiest path:

> "The labor market's so bad, you know, it's difficult to find anything. Then I resort to putting them into some sort of training program. It's not going to do them any good, but will help them financially."

A counselor for an urban Indian halfway house, however, pointed out that people who are placed somewhere just because there is nothing else tend to end up jobless again:

> "They used to train a lot of people for different vocations. And then when they finished their training they were unable to get jobs at that, and they would be working at filling stations and this type of thing because there were no job openings in their fields. They probably wouldn't stay at these jobs, because if you don't like something and ... it's not what you really want to do, you don't stay there."

A counselor for an urban BIA employment assistance program pointed out that program personnel are rarely familiar with programs other than their own:

> "The Indian youth ... goes to the NYC office, and the NYC personnel know the functions of their own program, but he doesn't qualify. They fail to tell him he could go to CEP or someplace else and receive similar services ..."

Other Job Opportunities in Cities

There appears to be a scarcity of jobs in many southwestern cities. In particular, the jobs that the urban Indian migrants have been trained for are not available. They must try to find other employment of the type that is usually perceived as menial and undesirable. Nonetheless, they must take these jobs to support themselves.

In some urban areas, discrimination against the Indian keeps the Indian employment rate, in either skilled or unskilled jobs, to a minimum. The director of an urban Indian halfway house believes that in his locale there is definite discrimination against the Indian:

> "You take the Human Resources Development (HRD) [office] down at the employment agency ... and I would bet that they haven't found an Indian a job in the last year -- this is skilled and unskilled both. They just don't have any Indians down there. The blacks run [one] HRD Center; Chicanos and the Hawaiians or Orientals run [another]. We [Indians] don't have any kind of an unemployment center or HRD Center. We've got one HRD worker in _____ that gives us a hand every now and then, but usually whatever she gets, the guys don't want .... She got one guy a job ... body and fender or something like that, and he's down there in a junk yard ... pulling parts off of cars for a couple of dollars an hour, working ten or twelve hours a day, [they take] out all kinds of deductions and by the time that he got home with his check, he had a $60 check, and his room and board was that much. He couldn't hardly even buy any clothes and got further into a rut .... Any of the guys that you find on the street, urban or reservation, any kind of Indian ... they're all unemployed; just doing whatever they can to survive."

An employment counselor and social worker in San Francisco and a youth services counselor in Phoenix all agree that there are very few jobs available in their cities. The employment counselor said that jobs in San Francisco are:

> "...very limited. And we have difficulty developing on-the-job training contracts with employers. Right now the emphasis is on the veterans -- recent Vietnam army veterans. So that really screens out a lot of our applicants."

The youth services advisor said:

> "If they are lucky they will get a job. There are a few successful men: electricians, doctors (very few Indian doctors), teachers. They have to do the lesser, degrading things; and yet they are capable of something better."

And at a state employment service:

> "It depends on the area of training. For example, a welder in Las Vegas is not that much in demand and wouldn't make much money or even find a job. Now cooks and waitresses and practical nurses and things of that nature get employed right here locally, at least at present. How long until we saturate the demand we don't know. But welders and ... electronics technicians would probably have to leave town."

A director of an Indian youth program, a female employment counselor, and a social worker, all located in a western urban area, agree that actual job training received and job opportunities available do not coincide. One stated:

> "A lot of times they don't get jobs that they were trained for. A lot of times they're doing janitorial work or working as a maid, and that's really a letdown, because they've been trained for something else."

Another said:

> "I get those that we're having a difficult time placing because they didn't have adequate training. We have some girls that were in nurses aid courses and now there's no demand for nurses aids. Same thing for fellows with auto mechanics training -- no room for auto mechanics. So they refer them to me and I try to get them into something ... that there is some labor market for."

And the third remarked:

> "The jobs that they do get aren't what they are looking for. ... For instance, if you went to school for welding and you wanted to get a welding job; but there aren't any open and the only thing that is open is, say, a file clerk .... Most of the time this is the case. ... They'll take whatever comes along just because they need it. You'll find a lot of them washing dishes in restaurants and [doing] janitorial work and stuff like this."

Another urban social worker commented on the lack of information concerning demands for persons in professional occupations:

> "A lot of the training that the Indians get just tends towards trades. And I think that if a lot of them knew that there was a demand for professional training that would be more of an incentive, because there is a big demand for Indian teachers, and Indian doctors, and Indian attorneys. ... It seems like no one is really telling them about the possibilities in these jobs. ... They just don't push [them] towards hairdressing and barbering and those jobs are almost filled."

Factors That Affect Employability

The Relevance of Anglo Employability Criteria for Indians

The usual job selection criteria may be inappropriate and unnecessarily exclusive for Indians seeking certain kinds of work. Often, Indians have difficulty in filling out the long employment applications or in completing the employment tests that many employers believe are necessary to use in selecting employees. Lack of work experience, limited English vocabulary and lack of skill with written English are some of the major barriers for Indians who seek employment in an Anglo-oriented culture. Employment counselors find that:

> "On job applications, many Indians do not understand the concept of 'job history' or 'previous work experience."

According to one employment counselor, the process of applying for a job is the most difficult area for Indians who are seeking employment:

> "Another solution would be to discard the occupational testing or the educational requirements for some of the occupations that we have. Or eliminate some of the paper work.
>
> "There are many educated Indians that we don't have to worry about. ... They usually help themselves. Many of the ones we ... work with, we often have to sit down with them and tell them this is the way the application has to be written. I think that as far as the application process is concerned, the Indian would rather just give his name, address, and age. He doesn't know where he has worked, and with many of the ... young people who have had sporadic employment experience, doesn't remember when the last time was he worked, or who he worked for, or what his address was. This is ... something he never thinks about. To him, a job is a job -- some way to get money right now."

An employment service counselor and two social workers from urban areas had these remarks to make about the difficulties Indians have with job interviews:

> "One lady that we deal with is with the Labor Department. She tells them right from the beginning, 'I want to see your hair cut. I want to see your nails clean. I want to see ....' -- all of these things that come from her particular point of view, her particular culture or society. The Indians don't necessarily subscribe to that."

And later:

> "Someone coming here from the Navajo reservation might not be familiar with fi'ling out an application, how to act during the interview, that kind of thing."

An additional problem that arises during job interviews is that often the Indian applicant lacks basic English language skills, and is unable to communicate well with the prospective employer. According to a midwest employment service worker:

> "It is frustrating to employers to the extent where they call me and say, 'I'd be happy to hire him if he would speak up. But he has only got two words, and I can't [talk to him]. So I'm going to send him back'."

Furthermore, Indians are usually not union members when they look for jobs and are therefore disadvantaged in this area, too. An urban social worker and a counselor from a southwestern Indian school discussed the fact that Indians who are seeking unionized jobs usually can't afford the union membership fee. This problem was also discussed by a group of urban social workers, who are involved in an Indian center with a staff that is 60 percent Indian:

> "I don't know too much about unions myself. Most of the Indian people can't afford to pay the fee; it's pretty stiff. Another thing ... is that everything around the area is union; and most people coming into this area are non-union."

Indians have difficulty in obtaining work "experience", which is required for many job openings. A female social worker associated with an American Indian group in an urban area stated:

> "A lot of times they ask for so much experience that it's ridiculous. We'd like to, somehow, get training for our people and use that in lieu of experience so that they would have a chance to start, and so they wouldn't get discouraged and quit. They're discouraged very easily because the cities are bewildering when they're coming off of the reservation ...."

In short, the Indian's lack of experience with Anglo behavioral conventions and the English language is very limiting, especially when he must come up to expectations that Anglo employers have about the job application process.

Cultural Barriers

The most important single factor that affects Indian employability is the cultural barriers between the American Indian and his employer. The very first step in getting a job -- namely, thinking of a job as something apart from the family -- is a difficult step for traditional Indians to take. World of work expectations quite frequently are not met by Indian employees. One of these expectations is time schedules. Indians do not do things according to a time schedule or on the basis of appointments or agreements; rather, they do things when they are ready to do them. Time as Anglos know it has no meaning for them. They may speak of things that happened years ago, possibly to their grandfathers, as if they had happened yesterday. A social service worker at an American Indian Center told our interviewer a lot of them just aren't suited to an 8-hour office job,or one in which they have to punch in and punch out:

> "A lot of people laugh at what we call Indian time. But it's true; an Indian does what he does when he is ready to do it, and they don't live by clocks;

> it's something built in. ... We set our meeting to start at 7:30 ... and maybe at 8:30 we'll get started. All of a sudden everybody is ready to start where we left off before; that's the way they're used to living and that's the way it has always been. Employers won't put up with it; they don't understand it."

Another aspect of the cultural barriers between the Indian and the Anglo employers comes when he applies for a job. (The difficulty Indians have in filling out application forms was discussed in a preceding section.) In addition to not knowing what to do, many do not know how to dress for an interview. This was discussed by a social service worker in an American Indian Center in San Francisco:

> "A lot of them will absolutely refuse to dress up just to go out looking for a job; they're fighting that. They'll say, 'I'm not going to suffer just for them.' They'll say, 'If he wants to hire me he can hire me.' You have to get that across to them that if they want a job they are going to have to bend a little bit."

These remarks indicate a general refusal of Indians to play along according to Anglo rules, and are reminiscent of earlier observations that Indians greatly resent education programs which seem to have the intent of destroying the Indian culture in their lives and replacing it with the Anglo culture. But, as was pointed out by an Indian representative who is an employment counselor in the Employment Security Commission in Salt Lake City, as Indians get more proficient in working in jobs then there is less need to interpret the Indian to the employer, and less need to interpret the employer's ways to the Indian.

Another difficulty is the degree to which Indians may overestimate their own job abilities and experience and correspondingly underestimate the demands in the world of work. In Salt Lake City an employment counselor said:

> "This happens in most of the cases, or about 60 or 70 percent of the time. A girl came in yesterday;

> we got talking and I said, 'What kind of job do you want?' She said, 'Anything .... I have done everything' .... Everything to me is carpenter, mechanic, bartender and all that stuff. And so I said, 'What kind of work have you done? What was the last job you had?' 'Housekeeping, babysitting, I've done some typing, I can do secretary work.' How fast can she type? I took her down and had her tested. She can barely make 20 [wpm] .... I asked her about dictation and she said no. I said, 'Where did you work?' 'I helped my sister on the reservation; I helped her type.' So she really never got the money for it; her sister did; she was just a helper. ... She could do housework and babysitting; that is the most she had done."

This story is typical of many we were told about the youths coming to look for jobs. Employers may receive the impression that the Indian prospect is trying to deceive the employer for the sake of getting a job; this may not be the case. It may simply be a case of a much different frame of reference.

The problem of Indians not reporting to work because of family emergencies is compounded because their view of what a family emergency is differs from that of Anglos. As was pointed out by a BIA guidance counselor:

> "They've got to take their mother her medicine. They've got to have a sing for auntie. They've got to have a sing for themselves. They've got to go to town and get this. They've got to run here. They've got to haul water for mother or grandmother or aunt and uncle, or get some supplies. They're very dependent upon each other, and when they call upon each other they expect an immediate response. They would take off work to do this. ... Finally, the administration of this firm just couldn't put up with that any longer and they came to the conclusion that Navajos didn't want to work. But actually they .... don't realize that when you have a job you have to be there. Production lines count on it and they won't hold up production [while you get your] grandmother water."

The same informant told us that companies that came to the Navajo reservation frequently have pulled out because of their inability to get cooperation from the Navajos -- of the kind that was satisfactory to them.

The Indians' attitudes about not being competitive, not pushing themselves forward and not living up to the Anglo standard of trying to get ahead and be a success will often lead employers to take a dim view of them. A counselor of the Salt Lake City Employment Security Commission told us the following story:

> "An employer called me and said: 'That guy is no longer here. I put him to work and I fed him and I gave him some money for the work he has done but he won't ask me any questions. I have to tell him everything I want him to do, so it was taking my time. If he gets a particular thing done he will go ahead and sit. There are other things he could do on his own, you know .... He will just do that one little thing and then he will sit until I come around again. So I had to let him go. I tried to get hold of you. He walked home, I think.' So there are people like-that who are afraid of everybody. Even the ones that are quite outgoing, they keep to themselves."

The interesting thing about the previous quotation is that the counselor interpreted the employer's story to indicate that the employee who was discharged had been shy and not pushy, while the employer who told the story interpreted it that the employee was lazy and needed specific instructions at every turn. This difference is critical. All indications are that in their home life the Indians are not lazy. Some young Indians are on call to do specific small jobs for other members of their family -- such as hauling water or wood, or taking grandmother to the medicine man. But in general they appear to be quite active. Still, the lack of competitiveness on the part of the Indian was mentioned by many informants and the conclusions drawn by our informants was uniform: the lack of competitiveness on the part of the Indian is seen by Anglo employers as a lack of desire to get ahead and as a core of laziness.

Sometimes it is the Indian employee who misinterprets the Anglo employer's behavior. As has been pointed out before in this report, the personal relationships that are so important in an Indian's life are not the same for Anglos. An Indian Employment specialist in Denver narrated the following story, which illustrates this point well:

> "I had a fellow come in who had quit work after working three months for one employer .... I asked him why. We got to talking to him and what came out -- the supervisor came in in the morning and he would give instructions to employees along the way. But he never did stop to talk to him; he ignored him completely. Well, he figured, 'I'm not doing a good job and the man doesn't like me.' ... We called the supervisor and he said it wasn't that at all; he talked to the employees who needed instruction. '[This man] was doing a good job; I didn't have to pay any attention to him .... If that's all that is bothering him, tell him to come back to work and I'll say good morning every morning.' As far as I know the man is still working there. ... Little things like that I feel the Indians are extremely sensitive to. ... The employer has to ... pay attention to them, let them know that he knows they are there."

Communication Problems

Both at school and in seeking and keeping jobs, the young Indian faces communication problems never imagined by his Anglo peers whose first language is English. This, according to a number of authorities, is not simply a problem of direct translation; a person's basic thought patterns are shaped by the structure of his language. "Indian thinking" is the popular phrase coined to explain this phenomenon for Indian youth. Examples given by our interviewees were numerous:

> "When you're asking a question in Hopi it gives a completely different phrase of response than if I ask it in English, and it's a different structure of thought."

was the comment of a Hopi, a professor at the University of Arizona.

Similarly, an Indian BIA official in Salt Lake City said:

> "When I speak English, I have a different mind; I have to. But then when I go back home and I speak my own tongue, it's different again."

At the Institute of American Indian Arts, an instructor explained:

> "When you speak a different language it means that you have different thought approaches to things because language structures are different. So if you speak English you think in a certain way; if you speak Navajo it'd be quite a different way."

A Papago former school teacher spoke from a multi-lingual perspective:

> "I think the more languages you speak or understand, the more you understand people; because people express themselves a little bit differently in one language than in another language, so I know that in one language you can say one thing so much more effectively ... than in another language. Papago isn't written; but I know there are some things that you can say in Papago that you cannot say in English with the same effectiveness."

Numerous examples of how language and communication problems affect young Indians entering the job market were given by interviewees. A BIA official from an urban area, in referring to job eligibility requirements, stated:

> "They're sort of handicapped ... because of their native tongue. And that limits them; there's only so many things that they can do. They realize that they can't go any further than they are. And some just tend to stay at a job once they get it, even if it is not a very good job."

An urban employment service official hypothesized that Indians who speak only English will be more likely to succeed in the job market than those who speak both languages:

> "I would say if they try to look for a job on their own, the kid that speaks only English will get the job faster than the ones that don't. Seems like the ones that can speak English only are more outgoing than the ones that speak Navajo and English."

The problems young Indians have in applying for jobs may be related to basic misunderstanding of the application process as well as difficulty in the use of the English language. As an Indian employed by an urban BIA program explained:

> "Some of them just fail to understand completely the instructions that are given. Or it may be just a matter of misinterpretation of the English language, which is entirely different from the native tongue. They almost have to be able to think in two completely different ways to be able to speak my tongue and to be able to speak English."

Many of them may also be afraid of strangers or shy about talking to them, particularly if they are Anglo. An urban employment counselor explained:

> "None of them are really talkative, you know. They have a lot to say when they get into their own groups; but when they're sitting across the desk from an employer ... there's not really much in common to talk about other than do you want a job. They really don't sell themselves.
>
> "I get people coming in here -- maybe five or six people coming in. And they'll go up to the reception desk and ask if I'm here. They'll say, 'No, she's not, can anyone help you?' And they'll say, 'No. When is she going to be back?' You tell them and then they're off. Or ... they'll call me but leave no message [as to] where I can contact them or who it was, and just keep on calling back. ... I keep on stressing, 'Leave your name so I can get in touch with you or come out and see you'."

A specific instance where practical knowledge of English is essential to job success was described by a counselor in an urban BIA employment assistance program:

> "One of the weakest points is their vocabulary. Now very few of our girls have trouble with spelling; however, [they do with] the use of words and structure of sentences. ... They reach a saturation point as far as speed is concerned in typing, mainly due to the fact that they can't think fast enough or use words fast enough."

Other difficulties in the job context may arise in terms of communication with non-Indian supervisors and coworkers. As the director of an Indian program in San Francisco explained:

> "I would assume the biggest problem [a person] would run into would be the problem of not being able to relate to non-Indians. This would be true, I guess, of all of them."

An Indian representative for an urban employment service described his experience with one client:

> "When I have a little time I always take him to talk to some of the employers. That was his big hang-up. I did all the talking for him; and he would just say yes and no, even though he could speak real good English."

In sum, the problems faced by young Indians in communicating with Anglos as individuals as well as in institutional settings, such as schools and the job market, are deeply rooted in the Indian's language and culture. Very often little or no effort is made by teachers, employers and other authority figures to view certain behavior as the result of a language or communication handicap. Rather, a negative stereotype is applied to the youth in terms of Anglo cultural values of aggressiveness and gregariousness.

Alcoholism

Alcoholism was mentioned several times as a factor that limits the employability of Indian youth, mainly the men. An Indian child with an alcoholic parent is also likely to develop a drinking problem, according to our findings in both the literature and the interviews. Furthermore, if both parents are alcoholic, a child is often stigmatized in school and is even more likely to develop a drinking problem himself. An urban social worker employed in an American Indian Center discussed this problem:

> "Alcoholism is mainly a problem among men. ... A lot of the young men do drink a lot. They're not out and out alcoholics, but they have a drinking problem, especially on weekends. Sometimes they'll start out to have a couple of beers and they'll end up drunk, and they won't make it to work the next day. ... A lot of our Indian youths have a police background or criminal background at an early age, and most of it is [because of their] drinking .... If [someone has] a record of being picked up for drunkenness or anything like that, automatically you term the individual as irresponsible or negligent, which he may not be. ... The Indian ... doesn't know how to drink socially; when he starts drinking he drinks until he gets drunk. Many times someone will approach him and say, 'Well, let's get drunk.' So that's what they do. They don't say, 'Let's go for a drink'. ... He'd think that's way out of line. ... But it's at this stage that they get into trouble and it's held against them."

After they have a job an occasional exception may be made for a good worker. She continued:

> "Some of the employers are very flexible.... A lot of the guys are very hard workers and I think the employer makes adjustments for them. I know one guy that had a drinking problem and he worked four or five weeks straight without touching a drop and all of a sudden ... he'll come in drunk. Then they'll tell him, 'Go home, sober up and come back when you're ready to work.' He'd go for three or four days then he'd be back in. But the employer knew that he could get a lot of work from this fellow, so he just kept him on this way."

A North Star field staff interviewer translated the following statement by a Navajo councilman:

> "Some of these youths will not do the job, even though we get them a job. One reason they cannot do the job is that most of these youths have a drinking problem. Some of the youths' parents have the same problem. Therefore, no matter what we do for them, they will not hold a job for long."

The director of an urban Indian Center on the west coast felt that alcoholism frequently develops as a result of other social problems, including urban adjustment:

> "Living with their own people or living on a reservation allows the Indian to continue his culture, to be part of his culture. When there are no jobs on the reservation, this means that they have to go off the reservation to find employment. And many times it might be in far-away places. ... What's he going to do? Is he going to give up his culture for a job? Or is he going to stay on the reservation and sit around and do nothing, probably get involved in alcoholism or something like that. Alcoholism is a problem for some Indians, not all. Too much of a stereotype of the drunken Indian; this is not true. I know many who will not drink simply because they do not like the stereotype."

He added, however, that too often the only idea that Indians have of a place for socialization is a bar:

> "The biggest place to hang out would be your nearest corner bar where all of the Indians frequent. That's always the point of reference. It's never that there's a social club .... It's always where are you going to find Indians, and they name the bar. There's one, I guess, in every urban center in the country."

Problems of Social Adjustment to Urban Life

Adjustment to life in a city is a particularly serious problem for Indians. They lack knowledge about the facilities that are necessary to survive in a city, and they lack experience with Anglo institutions that could help them earn a living, stay healthy, and interact successfully with other people. Urban employment agencies and public transportation, especially, are intimidating to the young Indian migrant. A counselor from a San Francisco Indian center talked about the difficulty that many young people have in learning to use public transportation to get where they want to go:

> "Some of their orientation to urban life ... doesn't give them the facts. A lot of people coming from the reservations have never been in the city, and they have a lot of trouble adjusting, even to taking a bus. Usually, they come out of training, and they don't have any transportation and they have to use the bus system. ... A lot of them just ride the same bus, not knowing that there are several other buses going back where they came from. That's the only bus that they know. I know of two Navajos that came out; and every time that they would ... go downtown, they would walk 15 or 20 blocks to get to the street to catch the No. 83 bus. They didn't know that they could have stood on the corner and caught [another] bus and transferred."

The lack of knowledge about using public transportation can restrict Indian people in finding jobs and homes, and in the kinds of social activities they participate in. According to what our interviewees told us, the only individuals who are able to deal with this problem adequately are those who have previous experience in living in a city -- and few of them have had this experience.

Another problem area is getting medical care. According to a Denver employment counselor, many young Indians appear to be afraid to ask for help:

> "They don't know where to turn to for [medical] assistance, or what is available in most cases, and so they will wait until it is at a critical stage, then break down. It is unfortunate, but when they come to you and [say they] need help, you know that it is ... at an emergency state. They are almost dead before they say they're sick."

However, a Phoenix youth counselor said that Indians were often denied medical help simply because they were Indians:

> "Another thing we have to bring out, is the Indian has not been able to go to the Indian Hospital, which is located in the city limits. They are turned down at the County because they are Indians. They are turned down at the Air Force base because they are Indians. They are turned down at the Veteran's Hospital because they are Indians, [even if] they have earned this by being veterans. And just by being Indians they should be able to go to the Indian Hospital. For one reason or another they are turned down .... [maybe] because they make too much money."

The list of areas where Indians are ignorant of Anglo urban institutions is quite long, and includes auto insurance, realty or housing rental agencies, and getting social security numbers as well as the more simple problems of paying rent and utility bills.

Lack of knowledge of the social facilities available in cities presents another kind of problem. A BIA official in Salt Lake City described the situation:

> "Once you get off of work, you've got to have something to do, rather than just go and lock yourself up in your apartment and look forward to work again the next day. You've got to have some kind of recreation, even if it's just a movie. ... If the person is a little hesitant ... to push himself forward to get into other social groups ... it's just going to be back and forth to work, and that's just about it."

A San Francisco BIA official discussed the social facilities that are available to Indians in that area:

> "I suppose that there are probably more Indian organizations in the Bay Area than any other concentrated urban situation. There's a variety of kinds of entertainment for them through the Indian organizations, such as weekly Indian dances ... (the traditional types of dances), Indian dinners that they can participate in .... And there are just a number of things going on that are traditionally Indian-style entertainment. This doesn't mean that any great number of Indians participate; but it's available to them."

Even less encouraging was the description of social life that was given by an Oakland counselor, who works in an Indian center:

> "Loneliness is the overwhelming problem. [We have been trying to] find a way to help with this particular problem and we haven't been at all successful. When I first came here, I was told that the bar, the movie house, and work was about where it was at. They're either going to movies or they're going to bars, and that was the extent of it -- the limit of their recreational facilities."

The urban contexts within which the Indian people must live are not conducive to strong family-oriented life styles. According to the Oakland counselor, the difficulties of adjusting to another way of life sometimes contribute to the disintegration of family relationships and the breaking up of marriages.

According to several of our interviewees, the Indian people who do manage to cope with urban life are those who retain some contact with their native culture even while living and working in the city. The Oakland counselor explained:

> "You get families remaining very culturally intact, but I think that very often these families manage to get back to the reservation. Every year they go back to the reservation. I think that a lot of families that have been here, say 10 or 15 years, you'll find that this happens. ... They'll find a way to get home. That somehow gives them something to hold on to keep them going. ... The Indian, when he comes out here, even if he is culturally intact, he'd have to be very strong to withstand the social system that's out here, because out here it's mixed and it's fast. They have to be able to blend in or adjust. To a lot of people, it takes a great deal of energy."

However, for those who are not able to return often to the reservation, it is usually difficult to retain their cultural practices and beliefs. According to the director of an urban program for Indians in Oakland:

> "I don't think it is possible to retain all of [the cultural beliefs] .... The customs that the Indians have they can't do because of the housing situation. Most of them live in apartments. One of the customs [is] ... if you have sickness in the house you sit up and you sing songs and you burn cedar wood. You can't do this in an apartment; the people upstairs will complain."

IMPLICATIONS

Three facts stand out above all the other findings in this study: 1) there are an astounding number of overlapping Federal and State programs that are aimed at helping the American Indian; 2) the American Indian has little to say about the policies of these programs or their mode of operation; and 3) most of these programs have not been very successful in meeting the needs of the American Indian.

There is a strong conviction among the Indians that these programs have not been successful because Indians did not plan them and Indians are not running them.

These convictions have been expressed articulately in the past by Indian spokesmen. As a recent example, in 1971 the National Indian Manpower Task Force submitted a "Position Paper on Indian Manpower Policy" to the Department of Labor. This paper made many specific suggestions for transferring the responsibility for program planning and operation to American Indian leadership.

These arguments appear to have a great deal of validity. Existing manpower programs stress a value system that is not attuned to the cultures of many Indian tribes, as well as concepts that are totally unfamiliar to those who grow up within these cultures. Thus, the fundamental tenets of manpower programs often confuse and antagonize the program participants. Communication gaps exist at the most basic level. And effective communication is essential to the success of any manpower program.

We concur, then, with the belief that, in order to be effective with American Indians, a manpower program must be planned and operated in large part by the Indians themselves.

Although this Indian participation in planning and administration is essential, our findings imply that it is not sufficient, in itself, to produce an effective program for Navajo and Papago Indian youths. Regardless of who plans a program for these Indian youths, who operates it, or how well the program content fits the cultural background of the participants, the economic and social realities facing Indian youth in the Southwest are so harsh that any manpower program faces immense barriers to success.

The basic problem is that, although many or most Navajos and Papagos would like to stay on the reservations and live pretty much the way their ancestors did, the extremely poor land of the reservations cannot support the increasing populations. And, because the land becomes less productive each year through over-grazing and scarcity of water for irrigation, the reservations are less able each year to support their populations, even without further population growth. There is very little industry, and not enough wage-earning jobs for everyone; consequently, welfare and free-food programs have had to fill the gaps.

Any program that is developed for use on the reservation will have to contend with: small, widely scattered population centers (usually 1 or 2 extended families); bad roads; lack of transportation and of most of the facilities that are available in urban areas (or even in many rural areas).

Many young Navajos and Papagos have been forced to leave the reservations for urban areas to find jobs. In the city and on the job they are expected to conform to the white man's value system. Most do not really understand Anglo ways, urban life, etc.; they are very much attached to their families and do not want to become "Anglicized". Thus, a program that conforms only to Indian values and Indian ways could conceivably have a detrimental effect on the occupational and social adjustment of those participants who must move to a city. And it seems likely that the need for reservation-to-city migration will continue.

Two different but coordinated programs are needed; one for youths who stay on the reservation and one for youths who move to urban areas. Because of the sensitivity of the Indian community to any action that can be interpreted as pressuring Indians to leave the reservation, the reservation program should not help in any way with urban preparation. This help should come in the cities after the Indians arrive. The reservation program and the urban program should be closely linked, perhaps to the extent that the urban program is almost an extension of the reservation itself.

There is need for an on-reservation manpower program for youths that is in harmony with traditional values; that will help the youths develop marketable skills; and that will provide practical guidance on ways in which they can apply these skills to help their people.

There is great need for an off-reservation program that will provide a migrant Indian youth with a supportive environment that will allow him/her to make a gradual adjustment to white society. This must include interactions with whites in as many kinds of situations as possible; but it must also allow the youth to have contact with his own people, preferably (as much as possible) with those who have made successful adjustments. The transition into "the world of the white man" should be permitted to develop gradually, but it should not be allowed to develop haphazardly nor at the expense of the youth's losing what is best from his own culture.